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PAKISTAN

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Public Against Aid, Pressure, Government Bending

92WP0198A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 1 Mar 92 p 3

[Article by Nusrat Mirza: "Nuclear Issue: U.S. and Pakistan"]

[Text] It is true that the United States of America is very upset at Pakistan for becoming a nuclear power. However, this worry is created by the United States itself, as Sardar Asif Ali, minister of state for economic affairs, mentioned in a statement. And then there is the immature thinking of the United States, its nightmares, and its habits I would like to call "cowboyism." The United States of America is very interested in making new enemies. If it does not have an enemy around, then it will push a friend of many years to make it become its enemy. This is its favorite hobby. The United States will have to pay the price of this avocation in the long run. It has now become too strong and is acting angry like a stubborn water buffalo. It needed to be consoled in the past and still needs to be consoled. [quotation marks as published] In my articles published in 1989, 1990, and 1991, I had been trying to bring attention to the fact that Pakistan should try to end the "American concern" or at least try to reduce it. In this context, I have at times suggested that a Pakistan lobby be established in the United States of America, and at other times, I have recommended sending delegations. At other times, I have discussed that the United States change its attitude toward Pakistan. All my columns published in the NAWA-I-WAQT testify to these efforts. It is ironic that the policies that I suggested to our leaders were used by India. When I tried to bring this fact to the attention of our policymaker, Mr. Nawaz Sharif, the prime minister of Pakistan replied to my letter. I had advised the government in a NAWA-I-WAQT article entitled "The Basis of Negotiations With the United States of America" to hold these negotiations on the basis that Pakistan's providing nuclear technology to Iran should be immaterial. Also, if the situation was not conducive to negotiations, efforts should be made to improve it. No attention was given to my advice. In my 1990 article, I had tried to bring to the attention of the government that the United States of America was wondering what kind of policy it should form about Pakistan.

In March of 1990, I met a famous American intellectual, Professor Stephen Cohen. After this, I wrote my article, "Pakistan Has the Right To Be Included in the Aftermath of Soviet Disintegration." In this article, I explained the basis on which I had suggested that we advise the Americans to formulate U.S. policy in favor of Pakistan. On this very basis, Abida Hussein, Pakistan's ambassador in the United States of America, is trying to pacify the Americans. I hope this is successful, even though some new problems have arisen since then. It is important to consider these numerous factors in the strategy. This policy cannot be as effective now as it

would have been at that time. The Pakistani Government has not succeeded in establishing an effective lobby in the United States of America. It is important to understand the needs for having several lobbies. One lobby should be formed by Pakistanis living in the United States of America. They should use their votes and influence to get the support of the senators and officials there. Such a lobby has been established, and even the U.S. government has encouraged it. However, it has not yet become effective. The second lobby is one in which the professional services of U.S. firms are obtained. Such lobbies are legal in the United States of America. It is important that such a company be included in the lobbyists directory so that such an effort is not in violation of U.S. law. Such lobbies try to influence the American government and politicians for its clients. Pakistani diplomats stationed in the United States of America have often tried to establish such a lobby. They brought a lobbyist of Arab ancestry, George Moznair. [sentence as published] In this context, the Pakistani prime minister's close adviser, Hussein Haqani, has also visited the United States of America. However, the service of any lobby that could help in changing the attitude towards Pakistan has not been obtained. At this time, changing this attitude will not be as easy as it was in 1990. Currently, the U.S. Government is not ready to form any new policy. A lobbyist should be selected after a careful review of how influential he is, and whether or not he will be honest with us. Also, we must make sure he is not a very busy lobbyist, and that he does not have working relations with lobbyists of our opponents. In my opinion, it is important that the Pakistani lobby in America be active and effective. It would be important even when Pakistan became a superpower.

After this long introduction, we must consider what the Americans are thinking now. What do they want? I would like to say here that after the fall of the Soviet Union, the United States of America has become the only superpower. It wants the world to know it and wants to use this opportunity to further its own interests. It has become pigheaded and a little imbalanced. All these are not good signs. The United States is working toward its own destruction. However, the question arises, why should we be destroyed before the United States is? We also find that the fears in U.S. minds are related to the prophecies made by Nostradamus. He prophesied 400 years ago that a Middle East country would destroy New York. According to calculations, the year for which this prophecy is made is 1995. For this reason, the U.S. attitude towards Muslims has been contemptuous. The United States has been opposed to the Islamic bomb. They are worried that the Muslims, in their anger and because of the U.S. attitude, might use a weapon that could destroy New York. In my opinion, we must remove this fear from the American mind, because the Americans are very serious about their security. They are thinking about taking some significant steps about Pakistan. This feeling has been expressed bluntly by U.S.

Senator Pressler. Many serious Americans are investigating how to keep Pakistan happy or what actions should be taken against it.

On 31 December 1991, I had a long meeting with Dr. Harold Sanders. Dr. Sanders is a very important diplomat and negotiator. He has served as an under secretary of the State Department and as director of the CIA [as published]. He had important responsibilities during the Camp David agreement. In my opinion, his mission was to investigate Pakistani mentalities and to find out how to keep Pakistanis happy. He also wanted to know how to reinstate good relations between the United States of America and Pakistan. When he asked me, I replied that relations between Pakistan and the United States could be improved if the United States recognized Pakistan as an independent nation and that it treat it the way the United States wanted to be treated. I also said that it should recognize Pakistan's nuclear program and not hinder its progress, and that it not use India to pressure us. These trips by one general after another to India, followed by trips by senators or important State Department officials, in addition to various plans being implemented in India, are not appropriate. The United States of America, I said, should leave this region alone. If it wants to help any country, it should help Pakistan, its long-time friend. I also told him that we are no longer interested in U.S. aid. It is possible that our officials are interested in adding to their own luxuries. We have been hurt more than helped. He replied that it is not possible to suddenly leave Pakistan alone. In this world, it has become more and more important for us to depend on one another. This way, he tried to justify the principle of interfering in each other's affairs. In my opinion, he was no less concerned. This concern is usually a fear that is detrimental to a lot of development. In the past, many wars were fought because both parties were afraid of each other. I believe that the United States is capable of taking some serious action; therefore, it is important to explain to it that Pakistan is a responsible country, that it is in a strange dilemma now, and that it is more worried than the United States is. Pakistan's fear is India, and it is important for Pakistan to have nuclear capability. Pakistan's stand is that this issue be resolved at a regional level. Pakistan has always stood by this, even in the past. We must try to convince the United States of America, using all of our resources. Dr. Harold Sanders did concede that Pakistan is a responsible country; however, he also hinted that wars are not fought just for winning or losing, but are also fought to force an issue to be resolved by sitting around a table and having talks. For example, Egyptian President Sadat fought a war against Israel in 1962. It is possible that we will be forced to reach the phase of starting a war just to have various parties sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty]. In this regard, it is important to convince India that it not play into U.S. hands and become instrumental in its own destruction. In my opinion, a policy like that of Ziaul Haq's should be followed, because being humble, lenient, and servile will not help at this time, when one orbit is crossing another. Other nations will not allow

one to become important and powerful. Not meeting with Senator Pressler reflects our national desires; however, it should be part of a serious, long-term policy. It would mean that the negative effects of not meeting with Senator Pressler can be neutralized by another action. If this was just a mental reaction, then we must make arrangements to rectify the harm done by forming an attitude according to the desires of the people, which seems to be very good only if one has the strength to bear the negative effects. It is also a good policy to get angry and accept your own conditions or even better conditions that you desire. However, it is a bad idea to get angry and then, after not being able to absorb negative results, be forced to agree to even worse conditions. Here it is important to explain that Pakistan is a responsible country, and its being a nuclear country is important for its existence and morale. We must make serious efforts to make the United States understand this. At the same time, it is also important that we improve the situation at home. We are sending negative signals, directly or indirectly, abroad and this is causing the United States of America to increase pressure on Pakistan for its own interests. At this time, it is commonly believed in Pakistan that the government has made a decision to agree with the United States of America. In other words, Pakistan will bow down to the United States after minor changes and negotiations are made. If this is planned, then why should it take the route of disagreement? If a decision is made to disagree with the United States, then the efforts to justify the situation to it should be accelerated. It would be detrimental to procrastinate as usual. It is important to change this attitude before the United States practices its "cowboyism." To this end, in addition to hiring a professional lobbyist, we must immediately mobilize the team of people who are interested in helping Pakistan, including Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, Prince Karim Agha Khan, Dr. Mehbub, Pakistani intellectuals, and Pakistani diplomats.

Foreign Role in South Asian Nuclear Control Welcomed

92AS0845E Karachi DAWN in English 20 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by M.B. Naqvi: "The N-Race in South Asia"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] The Defence Minister has taken the nuclear debate a stage further from Foreign Secretary's Washington declaration in January. What Syed Ghous Ali Shah said in effect is: Pakistan needs the Bomb to balance India's (a) presumed nuclear arsenal and (b) its perceived advantage in the numbers of conventional armaments and troops. That is a pointer toward the desirability of making South Asia's nuclearisation permanent. The United States can scarcely be surprised or alarmed because few could have missed the point.

Nuclear weapons in the hands of Indians and Pakistanis cannot be more dangerous than say, the Americans and Chinese possession of them. When the Americans dropped their atomic mass destruction weapons

(MDWs) on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, a new dimension was introduced, but it was a weapon nonetheless. Since then these (nuclear) MDWs have proliferated both upwards and sideways; they have also been miniaturised and developed into mega-sized ones. On the other hand, 'conventional armaments' have raced forward in the direction of becoming MDWs. These developments have served to blunt the edge of shock and disbelief over the possibility of such an appalling class of MDWs being used. In future they would certainly be used—on this subcontinent (if there is to be a war here).

The most urgent requirement is the adoption of a proper attitude toward nuclear MDWs. First, the point that can be made is that let us not belie all our decent instincts; the way we first thought (or borrowed) that atomic weapons are evil and deserve to be destroyed, let us continue to hold fast to that view. That gives us the goal: Let all decent Pakistanis continue working for total denuclearisation of their own country.

It is to be hoped that there would be enough decent Indians who would similarly work for ridding India of its nuclear MDWs. One would wish to underline and reiterate what one has written off and on about the risks to South Asia's ecology, especially its water cycle. Which is why fixing the goal of public policy is easy and indeed an automatic affair: banish the Bomb.

Writers like K. Subramaniam, in refuting the propaganda that these dangerous weapons simply cannot be trusted in the hands of Indian and Pakistani 'savages' appear to have gone to the other extreme: It will be good if both India and Pakistan should become properly declared nuclear weapons powers: they will be fully as responsible as the white race is; neither will they go to war (and use nuclear weapons) nor will they gift a bomb or two to a al-Qadhdhafi or Saddam; they will not even transfer their technology to a non-nuclear state. Subramaniam has built on this further: borrowing from the superpowers' negotiating positions and experience, predicated a stable detente, some version of balanced force reductions and maximum respective security at minimum weapons and force levels, if also in a distant future. How realistic is this?

There is no doubt that the Western hysteria over Soviet nuclear weapons falling into "wrong" hands—meaning the six Muslim republics in the first instance and Islamic countries like Libya, Iran, Iraq and Pakistan in the next—contains an element of racial prejudice and paranoia. Also, the way the United States is extraordinarily worried over Pakistan's Islamic bomb and, to a smaller extent, Indian weapons, while sleeping over, or merely tut tutting, the massive Israeli capability, as much exhibits standards as racial and cultural arrogance.

Having seen the beam in other's eyes, including their inexcusable sin of vertical proliferation, let us not ignore the mote in the subcontinental and Islamic eyes. Is it

really true that Indian and Pakistani leadership are as coldly responsible as the Western ones or as safely organised?

There are several counts on which it is reasonable to entertain doubts, though not on those of race and religion. The substantive issues of this subcontinent's politics provide a legitimate basis to suspect that, nuclear weapons or no nuclear weapons, the India and Pakistan can scarcely fail to collide. And once they resort to war, they cannot continue keeping these weapons as so many decoration pieces.

Kashmir is one such, even if others, being mostly consequential or having their origins in Kashmir, can be regarded as some soluble by peaceful means. Even Kashmir, in origins, was itself symptomatic of the desperate rivalry between the Congress and League to get hold of as many princely states as possible in the period immediately before independence.

The more fundamental proposition continues to be the mistrust of each other's intentions between the Hindus and Muslims of this subcontinent. The passage of time since 1947, when India was partitioned between a predominantly Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan, has apparently not assuaged the raw feelings of the two huge communities. In fact the contrary is the truth.

The almost primeval or instinctive mistrust and hatred between the Hindus and Muslims have graduated into the international phenomenon and provide the underpinning not only to foreign policies of the two countries but determine the shape and content of their national lives. In the relationship between India and Pakistan, disputes arise every now and then and political exchanges quickly become so bitter that the rest of the world has to prevent them from flying at each other's throats.

In terms of mental constructs, the three wars they have fought, for all their modern techniques, were at bottom communal riots fought with tanks and fighter aircrafts. Even this writer has specially noted with approval that two antagonistic high commands did not permit bombing of canal headworks and important economic installations during the three wars they have fought. Was it a wise restraint or was it the more primitive obsession with taking the enemy's life rather than destroying his economic potential, showing a deeper hatred of the 'other' fellow rather than cold calculation. It is not easy to be hundred per cent sure which is the case.

However that be, the outside world is right to distrust the nuclear-armed India and Pakistan: restraining themselves and not using nuclear weapons during a war will not come easily to them. Not that it will be impossible. But, the kind of disclosure that Pakistan has made—doubtless out of a desperate hope of mollyfying the American sense of grievance over the nuclear issue, conceding as much as feasible—it is no longer possible to take the earlier assertions of Pakistan's headline Bomb-lovers at face value, if ever they could be.

For one thing, a vast differential in the size of the two antagonists' capabilities has been revealed, as indeed it was foreseen. Although, the Indian ministers have broadly hinted with some smugness that they can take care of Pakistan's nuclear threat, implying an ample enough riposte capability (a much larger stockpile of similar weapons); bellicosity of their statements shows that they had more or less accurately estimated Pakistan's capability and that it worries them not at all.

The issue that faces us is that Pakistani security publicists and their journalistic followers had posited a realpolitik doctrine that may need revision: India is an aggressive and expansionist power; it will, sooner or later, aggress against Pakistan; this fact necessitates a permanent and strong defence; no economic sacrifice, therefore, is too great to defend one's independence and or integrity; since India's resources are vast, it will always outdistance Pakistan in conventional armaments; therefore, even a small nuclear weapons capability will go a long way toward making Pakistan's defences a deterrent force (for India).

Question now is: Is the assumption true that Indians will be so frightened by the few Pakistani nuclear weapons as not to encash their advantage (superiority) in conventional armaments? After all, they are likely to have the same—indeed far greater—advantage in nuclear weapons. Everything, according to the doctrine, turns on this assumption being true (implying the impossibility of maintenance of Pakistan's independence without the assumption of our few "footballs" being a true deterrent to India).

The doctrine itself postulates a perpetual arms race; any lowering of the guard—in the sense of marginal reductions in the defence budget, as Gen Arif has in fact argued (DAWN Feb 17, 92)—shall invite aggression from India. It not only repudiates all moral considerations, especially unilateral reductions of force, as impolitic, but goes on to hold that a country's defence is a part of the continuum that foreign policy is.

The content and context of this argument show that this part of the foreign policy is the overwhelming one, if it is not larger than the whole. Which means, in the context, that the idea of solving disputes so that the two countries can settle down to good-neighbourly cooperation, if not any particular kind of amity or forming a grand regional-free-trading zone, is a chimera.

Pakistanis should not merely be ready to make all possible sacrifices in order to defend their freedoms, they should go on making those near-maximal sacrifices permanently, for there cannot be a period of substantial demilitarisation (from the present levels) because the Indians are inherently evil (and we are good).

While it is legitimate for realists to remind thoughtless moralisers or the gullible who may be ready to de-escalate their vigil against all possible aggressions, including one from India, that attractive words alone are no basis for peace and demilitarisation, to predicate an

eternity of high military preparedness (at roughly the present economic cost)—allowing for incremental increases by both India and Pakistan from year to year for inflation, if not net new additions—is a deeply pessimistic prescription.

If, in the course of their own realpolitik over Kashmir or other disputes, Indians prove too hard-nosed or too unrealistic (in assuming that Pakistanis shall not dare use their few nuclear weapons for fear of India's massive nuclear deterrent) and do as Pakistani hardliners visualise, what happens?

A largely devastated subcontinent for a few generations, not to mention casualties in millions, would be what is in store—plus all the problems and uncertainties that worry us so much.

Prospects of Economic Relations With Japan Noted

92AS0812A Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 9 Mar 92 p 6

[Editorial—"Japanese Investment in Pakistan"]

[Text] Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa in his message to the seventh session of the Pakistan-Japan Business Cooperation Committee held in Karachi observed that rising interaction between the private sectors of Japan and Pakistan through huge investment would spur and stimulate high-paced industrialisation and transfer of technology. Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif in his message hoped for a quantum jump in a wide range of industries including electronics and agriculture. The high-powered 70-member Japanese delegation found positive ways and means to bring about a massive jump in Japanese investment in Pakistan's private sector consequent upon the sweeping economic reforms launched in Pakistan.

Japan is a major trading partner of Pakistan, though the balance of trade has continuously remained in favour of the former. In 1984-85 exports from Pakistan to Japan were valued at Rs.[rupees]4.57 billion against imports totalling Rs. 12.00 billion. In 1989-90 exports to Japan stood at Rs. 9.82 billion and imports from Japan amounted to Rs. 18.77 billion. The cause of deficit is that Pakistan's exports comprise only traditional items of cotton, cotton yarn and leather, while its imports include high value-added items like cars and electronic goods. There is great scope for expansion of trade between the two countries and reduction in the trade imbalance if more items of exports from Pakistan are identified and made internationally competitive through export oriented industrialisation.

There is also unlimited potential for Japanese investment in Pakistan. The convenience of dependence on foreign aid in the past robbed this country of the stimulus to work for foreign investment, which led to heavy external indebtedness without producing much good. Japanese overseas direct investment from 1951 to 1990

totalled 310.80 billion dollars, out of which Pakistan's share was only 110 million dollars. The Japanese investors appear keen to invest in Pakistan if the investment climate here is more congenial. The main hurdle is the deficiency in infrastructure. The shift towards deregulation, privatisation and additional incentives offered by the present government to the private sector and foreign investors should, however, attract the Japanese investors to invest in Pakistan. There are vast opportunities for Japanese entrepreneurs to enter into joint ventures with their Pakistani counterparts in important industries like electronics, transport and garments. A great change is coming over the industrial pattern of Japan. The emphasis is shifting from heavy industry, car manufacturing and textiles to electronics, biotechnology, aerospace and nuclear energy. Transfer of technology in the areas in which it is losing interest should become easier for Pakistan to arrange.

Paper Decries Imposition of Sanctions Against Libya

BK1704112992 Islamabad THE PAKISTAN TIMES
in English 17 Apr 92

[Editorial: "Give Diplomacy a Chance"]

[Text] Despite efforts by the Arab League and United Nations Secretary-General, it is unfortunate that sanctions have been imposed against Libya on expiry of the deadline set by the UN Security Council (UNSC). It voted on March 31 to impose sanctions, including an arms embargo and a halt to all air traffic from or to Libya unless it complied by April 15 with the United States and British demand to hand over the two suspects in the 1988 Pan Am bombing. Later, the International Court of Justice (ICJ) at the Hague rejected Libya's request for a temporary injunction to block the sanctions. A last-minute bid by Morocco, the only Arab country on the UN Security Council, to postpone sanctions was rejected by United States, Britain and France.

As soon as the resolution for sanctions was moved in the UNSC, Pakistan had issued a statement expressing the hope that negotiations between the Arab League and sponsors of the resolution would lead to a mutually satisfactory solution of the issue. After the adoption of the resolution, Pakistan remained in contact with a number of non-aligned and Islamic countries to coordinate closely with them in regard to the resolution. Pakistan enjoys significant economic ties with Libya where over 20,000 of its nationals are employed. As such there is considerable dismay in the country at the imposition of sanctions against that brotherly Islamic country. As a member-state of the United Nations, Pakistan is under obligation to implement the relevant provisions of the UNSC resolution. However, all hope is not lost and a solution could still be found before the sanctions start hurting Libya.

UN Secretary-General Butrus Ghali has said, that "the fact that the sanctions have been applied is not a reason

not to continue my efforts to find a solution." He added: "My role of catalyst, my role to find a solution peacefully, will continue." Besides, modalities are available under the Montreal Convention on suppression of unlawful acts against safety of civil aviation. These provide several avenues for the resolution of such issues which include bilateral negotiations, arbitration and international adjudication. Recourse could be had to these. In addition to what the Arab League is doing, the OCI [Organization of the Islamic Conference] should also take an active part in this matter of grave significance to all Islamic countries and have the problem resolved amicably. Pakistan would be too willing to join the effort

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

More Details on Kazakhstan President's Visit

Text of Declaration

92AS0811A Karachi DAWN in English 25 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 24 February: A declaration on principles governing relations between Pakistan and Kazakhstan was signed here on Monday by the visiting Kazakhstan President, Mr. Nursultan Nazarbayev, and Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif, reaffirming their faith in the universally accepted principles of interstate conduct and their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations.

The declaration says that both the countries shall develop and consolidate cordial relations, sincere friendship, good-neighbourliness and comprehensive mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields, on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereign equality and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Both the countries shall promote comprehensive cooperation, specially in the economic, trade, scientific and technological, communications (including air, road, railway-links of both sides and the sea ports in Pakistan) fields, on the basis of principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment.

They shall also develop ties and contacts in the fields of information, education, Press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports. Both the countries declared that they would coordinate their efforts to combat international terrorism, organised crime and drug trafficking.

The following is text of the declaration:

"The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan hereinafter referred to as parties."

"Conscious of the deep-rooted ties of shared history and culture and abiding interest in peace, stability and progress in the region and the world."

"Desirous of promoting and consolidating the relationship of friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation between them."

"Reaffirming their faith in the universally accepted principles of inter-state conduct and their commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations."

"Having established diplomatic relations, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Republic of Kazakhstan have agreed as follows:"

"1. Parties shall develop and consolidate cordial relations, sincere friendship, good-neighbourliness and comprehensive mutually beneficial cooperation in all fields, on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereign equality and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs."

"2. Consistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and to ensure peace and security of their people, parties shall cooperate with each other and together with other states to preserve and strengthen peace in the region and throughout the world."

"3. Attaching great importance to the cooperation in the international field, parties will maintain consultation with each other on major regional and international issues affecting their interests. They also agreed to cooperate in international organisations."

"4. Parties agree to maintain regular contacts at various political, diplomatic and official levels, including meetings between the leaders of the two countries, to ensure constant development and strengthening of bilateral relations."

"5. Parties shall promote comprehensive cooperation, especially in the economic, trade, scientific and technological, communications (including air, road, railway links of both sides and the sea ports in Pakistan) fields, on the basis of principles of equality, mutual benefit and most-favoured-nation treatment. They will also develop ties and contacts between them in the fields of information, education, press, radio, television, cinema, tourism and sports."

"6. Parties will coordinate their efforts to combat international terrorism, organised crime and illicit drug trafficking, as well as to preserve ecological environment and agree to cooperate to address the aforementioned issues bilaterally and within regional and international organisations."

"7. Parties will operate on the basis of complete understanding that the development of their bilateral and international relationship shall by no means have any detrimental impact on each other's relationship with the third countries."

"8. The present declaration enters into force on the date of signature. This declaration shall remain valid unless either side decides to terminate to the other side by giving an advance notice."

Trade Relations Established

92AS0811B Karachi DAWN in English 25 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] Islamabad, 24 February: Pakistan and Kazakhstan have decided to establish bilateral counter-trade relations for which a clearance system was agreed upon here later Monday evening.

Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz, who led the Pakistan team in the discussions, told DAWN that in order to operate the system, which will have no ceiling, Pakistan will open a branch of National Bank in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan's capital, and the Kazakhstan Economic Bank will open a branch in Pakistan.

Under the agreement, the two countries will clear their accounts every three months and settle the outstanding balances in hard currency.

Pakistan will export to Kazakhstan whatever that country needed, either from its own exportable surpluses or by purchasing the requirements from world market against hard cash, in return it will lift from Kazakhstan anything which could be sold either in Pakistan or anywhere else in the world against hard cash.

For the time being the two countries are likely to use the Iranian route via the Caspian Sea for bilateral counter-trade.

"And when the Afghan problem is resolved, we will use the land route via Afghanistan, Sartaj Aziz added."

The proceeds of exports from Pakistan will be deposited by Kazakhstan in the National Bank branch in Alam Ata. The proceeds of all goods lifted by Pakistan from Kazakhstan will be deposited in the Kazakhstan Economic Bank branch in Pakistan. And at the end of 90 days the two banks will clear their accounts and settle the balance in hard currency.

According to Mr. Sartaj Aziz, this was the most ideal arrangement as the two countries were short of hard cash and also because the IMF did not allow members to enter into barter arrangements in which no hard cash was exchanged.

Under the agreement, Pakistan and Kazakhstan will take measures for the development of long-term and stable trade relations.

The two countries will encourage enterprises and organisations to explore the scope for expanding ties. In external trade relations, they will give each other most-favoured-nation treatment.

Significance of Declaration

92AS0811C Karachi DAWN in English 26 Feb 92 p 13

[Editorial—"A Landmark Declaration"]

[Text] Pakistan and Kazakhstan have just signed a declaration on principles governing relations between them in what can rightly be described as a giant leap towards developing bilateral cooperation in diverse areas of common interests. Properly explored and developed, the comprehensive pattern of cooperation envisaged by the two sides can also be expected to help turn the eight-member ECO (Economic Cooperation Organisation), of which Kazakhstan has only recently become a member along with four other Central Asian republics, into a dynamic structure of regional cooperation and development. The declaration, signed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev and Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in Islamabad on Monday, lays the basic framework within which the two countries are to develop the full potential of their friendly ties and mutually beneficial cooperation. What makes the declaration a document of extraordinary significance is the rational and matter-of-fact approach that gives its tone and character. Extra care seems to have been taken in not being overly ambitious or overemphasising the bonds of religio-cultural affinity between the two countries. The same sense of realism has been shown in delineating areas where cooperation could be beneficial both bilaterally and in the regional context.

The commitment of the two sides to promote comprehensive cooperation in the fields of economy and trade, science and technology, and to develop communication and transportation links speaks of their practical approach to the demands of the time, for in today's world no purposeful and mutually beneficial cooperation can be achieved without first laying a modern and efficiently functioning infrastructure. Due significance has also been accorded to cultural exchanges as well as to coordinated efforts to combat organised crime, international terrorism and drug trafficking, not only bilaterally but also on a regional plane. The two countries' concern for the protection of the ecological environment of the region shows their awareness of this growing threat to our planet to which the world has only recently awakened, and that makes the declaration truly comprehensive and pertinent.

Bilaterally speaking, both Pakistan and Kazakhstan stand to gain immensely by sharing each other's experience in economic development and efforts to improve the quality of life for their respective peoples. There are vast areas of economic activity in both the countries which they can explore to mutual benefit, for despite having a rich common heritage rooted in a distant past, in the modern context Pakistan and Kazakhstan have been following two different socio-economic systems and growth patterns and may have to, so to say, rediscover each other. In certain aspects, however, the areas of possible—and highly desirable—cooperation are even now well demarcated. For instance, their geographical

proximity through the other member-states of the ECO offers immense opportunities to expand bilateral trade overland, which they propose to do on a most-favoured-nation-treatment basis. Strategically placed as it is, Kazakhstan had the benefit of scientific and technological development under the erstwhile Soviet rule on a much wider scale than some other Central Asian republics. This puts it in an ideal position today to help brotherly nations like Pakistan in accelerating development in sectors that require a higher degree of technological know-how and sophistication. The Central Asian republics together can now make possible the much needed transfer of technology that the West has denied most Third World countries, including Pakistan. On the other hand, Pakistan can help Kazakhstan in developing its consumer industry and also with an assured source of supply of its consumer needs. What is more, it can provide this and other Central Asian republics an easy access to the Arabian Sea and on to the vast markets of the Middle East and to South-East Asia and the Far East through its existing and future seaports.

Even the most sceptic of observers of developments in Pakistan and the region would thus see in the declaration the promise of a bright future for both Pakistan and Kazakhstan provided, of course, that the two countries sincerely and methodically strive to achieve what they have set forth as the principal objectives of their friendly and cooperative relationship.

Paper Deplores Mutual Lack of National Goodwill With India

[BK2004134592 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 Apr 92 p 6

[Editorial: "About Time We Learnt Some Manners"] txt
[Text] A Junior Pakistani diplomat being beaten up and detained by an Indian intelligence agency in New Delhi has neither any sense or humour to it. To say nothing of violation of the diplomatic immunity enjoyed by diplomats the world over. It happens in other parts of the world also but nowhere more than in India and Pakistan that the diplomats of the two countries are constantly shadowed by the intelligence agencies of either country. And this goes on ad nauseum while the politicians of both countries let no opportunity go waste of declaring what a good idea it would be if relations between Pakistan and India were of the utmost cordiality. And it is not only diplomats who get the dirty end of the stick. Journalists representing their newspapers in the respective capitals of the two countries are not spared being tailed at all hours of the day or night. So ludicrous is the state of affairs that even if the ambassador of India wishes to visit Rawalpindi from Islamabad, he has to first seek the permission of the Foreign Office! As if all this was not nauseating enough, we now hear that some third rate babus [Junior officials] of some Indian intelligence agency not only picked up one of our junior diplomats from a New Delhi marketplace but detained him for quite some time and beat him up good and proper for good measure. It would not be at all surprising

if we heard soon that one of our own intelligence agencies had paid back some Indian diplomat posted in Islamabad. What this means very clearly is that intelligence agencies in both countries are manned by absolute goons who are not even briefed by their superiors on what they can and cannot do. What they certainly cannot do is to detain diplomats posted to their countries and give them a mauling. While we are on the subject it would not be out of place to mention that even Pakistani journalists have less than pleasant moments in certain situations.

What the whole thing boils down to is a deplorable lack of manners on both sides of the border. Apart from diplomats of the two countries being harassed by the tiresome busybodies on both sides, woe betide the citizen of either country who visits the neighbouring country. He is required to report to a police station immediately on arrival like any common criminal. Apparently it is the job of the intelligence agencies on either side to make the stay of a visitor from the other country as unpleasant as they can. And let there be no mistake about the fact that any journalist visiting a Pakistan diplomat's house in New Delhi or an Indian diplomat's house in Islamabad is immediately presumed to have gone there to sell state secrets. Pray what sort of state secrets could a journalist possibly be in possession of? Somebody should tell these sleuths that if anybody is in a position to divulge state secrets, it is a diplomat and definitely not a journalist. Intelligence agencies on both sides of the border have got themselves into an ancient rut. It is about time diplomats and citizens from across the border were treated decently. All the rhetoric in the world about bringing about cordial relations between India and Pakistan will be just a lot of hot air unless government agencies are directed to spend their duty hours in pursuits more fruitful than shadowing junior diplomats and journalists. For instance, instead of reporting that fifty terrorists had crossed the border at a certain point, they would serve the interests of the country better by identifying and arresting such elements. Why is it that they are seldom able to do that?

Indian Dialogue Futile If Kashmir Omitted

*BK2304032692 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
22 Apr 92 p 6*

[Editorial: "All This Hypocrisy in Name of Dialogue"]

[Text] We are in favour of dialogue with India at all levels, officials, non-official, multilateral, bilateral. But we do not want dialogue to be used as a garb for hypocrisy and deceit. The two sides must first answer, "What is the dialogue about?" Is it about normalisation of relations whether the disputes are resolved or not? If it is the former, we support dialogue in all appropriate forms. If the latter, our response would be forget it.

The dominant feature of the inaugural session of the so-called Pakistan-India Dialogue-II in Islamabad was hypocrisy. Not one delegate, not one speaker had the

courage to make even an oblique reference to the inhuman behaviour of the Indian armed forces in Occupied Kashmir. Not even those who pride themselves as champions of human rights could muster courage to utter a word of criticism against the barbarities that are being committed daily against innocent civilians in the Kashmir Valley. One would have thought that at least one Indian academic or journalist would dissociate himself from the atrocities which have become a way of life in Srinagar. The Pakistanis, of course, were acting as model hosts and thought it impolite to raise a subject which might give offence to their highly sensitive guests. Considerations of etiquette took precedence over human rights.

The international dispute relating to the State of Jammu and Kashmir was mentioned by one Pakistani participant as "an irritant". Distinguished lawyers, journalists, academics, retired diplomats and Generals from India took a united position. They did not utter the word Kashmir in the inaugural session. In a subsequent session the Indians express their displeasure about a TV programme in which two of the Pakistani participants had the "effrontery" to discuss the Kashmir problem while Indian guests were in the country. The Pakistanis mumbled some words of apology.

The Indian game is not new. For the last 40 years they have been saying that the way to improved Indo-Pakistan relations lies through mutual trade, and cultural exchanges. Once the people of India and Pakistan come to recognise the bonds of common history and the benefits of unity, the Kashmir dispute will resolve itself. They have always objected to the mention of Kashmir as a dispute. Earlier they argued that "dispute" was too emotive a word and preferred to call it a problem. Later, the word "problem" was replaced by "question". Other variations like "issue" and "difficulties" were tried but the Indian preference was, that Kashmir should be treated as an "irritant."

Several Pakistani participants complimented the Indians on their speeches in the inaugural session. "They were all so articulate" was the comment one heard in the corridors. When you make up your mind to take your audience for a ride, words can provide a useful means of transport. The Indians were in a nostalgic mood, recalling old memories and whenever they found an occasion they would heave a deep sigh and exclaim "It was all so unnecessary". The two priceless remarks came from an elderly Pakistani and an equally hoary Indian delegate. Said the Pakistani: "It were the politicians who made all the mess". The Indian compared the dialogue to "foreplay" (Beg your pardon) which could lead to a conjugal union. He did go on a bit, quite forgetting that there should be some conjugal agreement before "foreplay" otherwise it would be treated as molestation.

What followed behind closed doors has not been revealed but we understand that at least one Indian delegate circulated a detailed paper about the benefits of greater trade which Pakistan could garner if it would

leave Kashmir alone. A retired Indian General presented a paper on Indo-Pakistan reconciliation in which, he quoted with approval the opinion that any attempt at Indo-Pakistan reconciliation was like treating "two patients whose only disease is allergy to each other." Forget Kashmir, treat this allergy was his recipe. Human rights violations were mentioned only to be dismissed as the result of "administrative mismanagement". A Pakistani delegate reminded the Indians of the need to implement the agreements already reached between the two countries. The Indians kept talking about the need for more meetings and exchanges.

The Pakistanis seemed determined to demonstrate their "reasonableness" and "flexibility". They were willing to talk about any solution of the Kashmir dispute if plebiscite was not acceptable to India. The Indians did not rise to the bait and allowed the Pakistanis to rehearse a whole list of options.

If this dialogue is a genuine independent non-governmental initiative why were the Indian High Commissioner and his colleagues allowed to take such a prominent part in its public presentation. Who is financing this show. Nowhere in the world do independent nongovernmental organizations allow officials and diplomats to dominate and finance their meetings. Unless the Organisers make a full disclosure of their official contacts and sources of funds, we will remain extremely sceptical about this charade.

Editorial Criticizes 'Unofficial' Talks With India

BK2404060592 Peshawar *THE FRONTIER POST*
in English 23 Apr 92 p 10

[Editorial: "Politics of Indo-Pak Dialogue-2"]

[Text] An English daily of Islamabad has criticised the recently held "unofficial" Indo-Pak dialogue in the city. The leading editorial has accused the Pakistani participants of hypocrisy because they allegedly didn't discuss Kashmir, spoke in conciliatory tones, while the Indians didn't say a word on Kashmir in departure from the official Indian line. The editorial has also alleged that during the discussions, it was the Pakistani side which presented new variations on official Pakistani stand on plebiscite while the Indians sat pretty witnessing Pakistan give ground. Pakistani participants have also been accused of not driving home the facts pertaining to the situation arisen in Kashmir after the atrocities committed by the Indian Army there. The editorial is based on the welcoming speeches made in the public inaugural session, as well as on some "inside" information received from the "closed" session of the Dialogue.

The inaugural session was not substantive and therefore gave the impression of being too "friendly." An unfriendly dialogue is no dialogue, although the hostile atmosphere in both Pakistan and India militates against any kind of communication at official and unofficial

levels. After an earlier dialogue, Indian journalist-politician Mr M.J. Akbar had attacked the Indian participants for having "sold India" to unofficial Pakistanis. Similar views were expressed in the press in Lahore, accusing the Pakistanis of having "sold Pakistan." It is not true that Pakistanis didn't talk of Kashmir; in fact, the dialogue gave more time to Kashmir than to any other subject, and it was the Indian side that presented "variations" on the official Indian posture that Kashmir is not negotiable. Everything that the private citizens thought needed to be said was brought up, from the hawkish extreme popular in Pakistan to the moderate middle-ground unpopular in Pakistan. The Indian side reflected the same gamut of views, some of them quite close to the Pakistani hawkish line. The dialogue was hosted by the Institute of Strategic Studies of Islamabad. The process has been endorsed by the prime ministers of both India and Pakistan, who have made it a practice of receiving the guests of the dialogue. The organisers are fully aware of the hostility that the dialogue might be received with. It is unofficial diplomacy whose models are available in international relations. It has succeeded in the strategy of avoidance of war in the past, but it remains ancillary and is needed when the states become incomunicado and are threatened with mutual destruction because of their inflexible and mutually exclusive postures.

JUI Dissident Fazal Upholds 'Islamic Bloc'

92AS0774B Islamabad *THE MUSLIM* in English
3 Mar 92 p 5

[Text] Peshawar, March 2: Chief of his own faction of the JUI [Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam], Maulana Fazlur Rahman has emphasised the need for an Islamic bloc to counter the conspiracies hatched by the western powers against Muslim Ummah and Islam.

Addressing a seminar arranged by Pak-Arab Patriotic Front here on Monday, he observed that the formation of the Islamic bloc would enable Muslim countries to get rid of the western supremacy in the fields of economics and defence. "Muslim States would have their independent economic and defence systems", he added and further maintained that had the idea been materialised, Muslim members of the bloc would depend on each other instead of proffering their hands to the outsiders.

The JUI chief went on to say that Muslim countries of the world though affiliated with different superpowers, could be united on a single platform for a bright future of the Ummah. In this regard, he opined Pakistan could play a vital role. "Pakistani rulers should convince their counterparts of other Muslim States and snatch them from the western blocs", he suggested.

Fazlur Rahman conceded that the bloodshed of innocent Muslims in the Iran-Iraq war, to some extent, had stirred the conscience of Muslim leaders.

"This massacre of Muslims by the western powers had exposed the nefarious designs against the Ummah", he

added and maintained that following this war Egyptian and Pakistani leaders talked of a Muslim bloc. "But this proved to be just a lip-service as no practical step has been taken as yet in this regard", he remarked.

Talking about the anti-Muslim activities of the western countries, he said the superpowers had no interest in democracy or a representative government. They only care about their own interests.

Whenever they need a democratic government in a country, they start yelling about elections, he added and maintained that when a democratic set up of a State became a threat to their supremacy, it was dethroned by a dictator. The present situation in Algeria and Afghanistan, he maintained, was an ample example of this fact. In Algeria a religious political party, which has got an overwhelming mandate of the masses in elections, is being crushed by military. Similarly, he added, the Afghanistan issue was being complicated to impose a government of American choice there. He recalled that in 1977 martial law was imposed in Pakistan to suppress the Nizam-e-Mustafa movement in the country.

Senator Hussain Ahmad speaking on the occasion said that the American Government, since Henry Kissinger's time, had been trying to invade the Gulf region. This was followed by the Russians, he added, and both superpowers got united against Muslims in the Iran-Iraq war. They did not even care about their allies, he remarked and added that both (US-USSR) could have vetoed the decision of invading Iraq. "But they didn't do so as it was not in their interests", he asserted.

Commenting on Pakistan's foreign policy, the Senator said that differences existed among the statements of the Foreign Minister and high ups. "We have a confused foreign policy", he ridiculed and went on to say that Kanju, Zaki and Sheheryar were not even clear on the sensitive issue.

INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Court Upholds President's Clemency Powers

92AS0814A Karachi DAWN in English 26 Feb 92
pp 1, 18

[Text] Lahore, 25 February: The Supreme Court has observed that certain changes made in the Constitution are inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution which have made its smooth working difficult. The Court held that the conflicting Articles be amended in a manner that they harmonise with the philosophy of the Constitution.

Comprising Mr. Justice Dr. Syed Nasim Hasan Shah, Mr. Justice Shafiur Rehman, Mr. Justice Saad Saood Jan, Mr. Justice Abdus Shakoor Salam and Mr. Justice Mohammad Afzal Lone, a full bench of the Supreme Court also held that a general provision of the Constitution, may it be a substantive part, cannot override a

specific provision and does not, therefore, have a precedence over the remaining Articles of the basic law.

The observations came when the Supreme Court started hearing appeals against the judgement of a full bench of the Lahore High Court which had held that the President had no longer any power of pardon or commutation of sentence after the promulgation of the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance. This judgement affected over 100 condemned prisoners who were earlier, taken out of the death cells and their sentences commuted to life imprisonment in pursuance of the residential Order of 7 February, 1988.

Relatives of the deceased persons subsequently filed 101 writ petitions in the Lahore High court contending that the President had no powers to commute death sentence under Article 45 after the promulgation of the Qisas and Diyat Ordinance enacted in the light of Article 2-A, which made the Objectives Resolution a substantive part of the Constitution. A full bench of the Lahore High Court upheld the plea and gave a decision that the President had lost power. Subsequently the prisoners were again shifted to death cells and capital punishment revived.

The Supreme Court on Tuesday, held that Article 45 was a specific provision under which the President enjoys clemency powers. So far Article 2-A, it made the Objectives Resolution a substantive part of the Constitution; but its provisions were guidelines like the principles of Policy and was, thus, a general article which cannot override a specific article.

At the outset of the hearing of appeals, the Supreme court posed the question whether a general provision, such as Article 2-A, has an overriding effect on the specific provisions of the Constitution such as Article 45. The inquiry was whether Article 2-A is executionary in nature and whether subsequent legislation was necessary to meet the principles and goals as set by the Objectives Resolution.

Apart from Attorney General Aziz A. Munshi and the Advocates General of the four provinces, amicus curiae, including Mr. S.M. Zafar, Mr. Khalid Ishaq, Mr. Ejaz Batalvi and Dr. A. Basit, have been sent notices to assist the court in the interpretation of Article 2-A and its impact on the rest of the Constitution. Of them Mr. Ejaz Batalvi was present in the Court on Tuesday. The Court also asked Dr. A. Basit, who was summoned on a notice, to render similar assistance. He had argued in favour of some of the petitioners in the Lahore High Court.

Dr. Khalid Ranjha, counsel for convict Hakim Ali, contended that by giving the verdict against the President's powers, the Lahore High Court had virtually struck down Article 45 which amounted to stepping beyond the confines of the Constitution that gave birth to the courts and whose protection is the duty of the judiciary. The High Court had no jurisdiction to strike down any provisions of the Constitution because the basic law of the land did not permit this. He submitted

the Lahore High Court judgement was self-contradictory as it declared clause A of the Presidential Order of 7 December 1988, which awarded the amnesty and commutation of death sentence to life imprisonment as illegal whereas other clauses were not held so.

The counsel pleaded that the Objectives Resolution was already a part of the Constitution when Article 203 (about establishment of Federal Shariat court) was introduced. Article 203 provided that the Federal Shariat Court alone was competent to settle the question about prevalent laws being in accordance with Islam or otherwise; but it too had no jurisdiction of examining the provisions of Constitution. Likewise, Article 227 also provided for enforcement of Islamic law in the country; but it was also provided in the Article that the Council of Islamic Ideology would examine certain laws to certify whether they were in conformity with the teachings of Koran and Sunnah. As for the jurisdiction of the High Court to entertain a writ petition it was under Article 199 and no other remedy was available.

Dr. Khalid Ranjha submitted that his client was charged with murder in 1983; the trial court sentenced him to death in June 1984; the penalty was confirmed by the High Court in July 1986; the Supreme Court dismissed appeal and now a review petition was pending in the Supreme Court. The President's Order was promulgated during the pendency of the appeal before the Supreme Court. The conviction was made under ordinary law and not under Qisas and Diyat Ordinance which was in force by then and Article 2-A was not yet made the part of the Constitution. He submitted that Article 2-A was not executionary in nature and provided for legislation through reference. As such it was unnecessarily incorporated in the presence of the Objectives Resolution being the Preamble of the Constitution.

National Government Parleys Said 'Unconstitutional'

92AS0774A Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English
3 Mar 92 p 1

[Italics as published]

[Text] Multan, March 2: Prime Minister Mohammad Nawaz Sharif has ruled out the possibility of purposeless parleys with the opposition at this stage and said that the demand of All Parties Conference (APC) leaders for a national government was not only undemocratic but unconstitutional too.

Talking to newsmen soon after the luncheon hosted by Mian Ata Muhammad Qureshi, MNA [Member of National Assembly], in Debalal village, the Prime Minister said that there was no usefulness of having purposeless talk, sitting and dispersal like *guftan*, *nashistan* and *barkhastan*. He was of the view that agenda of the talk should be settled before initiating any talks for reconciliation.

To a question the Premier said that APC was an alliance of such elements who hatched conspiracies against the integrity and solidarity of Pakistan, who opposed the creation of an independent state who waged a struggle against Pakistan and those who desired to come into Pakistan on Indian tanks.

Nawaz Sharif said that APC could not attain the confidence of masses which had already discarded them, and now they were being rejected again before achieving any of their goals.

Responding to a question, the Prime Minister said that the government had already constituted an inquiry committee to look into the incident of a C-130 crash which claimed the lives of General Ziaul Haq, General Akhtar Abdul Rehman and others. He told that inquiry report was in its final stage and it might be made public any time. He said it was his desire that Mr. Ejazul Haq should supervise the working of this committee and join this committee as chairman. The Premier said that he had also asked Dr. Basharat to accept the chairmanship of this committee.

When asked why did he arrange a public meeting in Khangarh, the home town of Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, whether he wanted to counter him, he responded that its reasons were understood.

Responding to another question, the Prime Minister said that the Sindh government was running smoothly and dispelled speculations about administrative changes in Sindh and said that Jam Sadiq would continue to serve the people. The Prime Minister arrived at Khangarh along with two Federal Ministers Mr. Javed Hashmi and Mr. Muhammad Aslam Khattak.

DAWN Commentaries Cynical of New Sindh Chief Minister

Not Seeking Reconciliation

92AS0844A Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 92 p 11

[Editorial: "Charting a New Course"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] After rounds of hectic politicking and two trips to Islamabad, Chief Minister Muzaffar Hussain Shah has succeeded in completing what he calls the first phase of the formation of his cabinet comprising 16 ministers and 13 advisers. The new incumbents, most of whom have in fact been drawn from the previous cabinet, represent important power blocs and major pressure groups which have dominated Sindh's political scene for several decades. The compulsion for political accommodations, rather than the exigencies of a well-motivated and efficient administration for the province, appears to have determined the new chief executive's choice in favour of a cabinet of this size. Some additions are expected in the near future, depending largely on the political expediency of Syed Muzaffar Shah's fragile legislative majority. Besides the ministers and the advisers, a number of

special assistants are also to be appointed to keep the legislators satisfied. The Chief Minister's claim of independence in the selection of his cabinet colleagues has been vehemently disputed by the opposition parties. In a 109-member House, representing a wide diversity of opinions and interests, he enjoys the support of 67 members and hopes to win over some more who have recently contacted him. For a comfortable majority, he needs dependable support of his coalition partners, the dissident MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] of the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] and the Jatoi group rebels. Unfortunately, loyalty has become a saleable commodity in this country and "horse-trading" has assumed a respectable connotation in power politics. All previous governments, with few exceptions, have freely resorted to these practices without compunction to stay in power. In the process, democratic norms and political stability have been greatly impaired.

The hope that had been initially raised with Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's unanimous election as Leader of the House after the death of Jam Sadiq Ali seems to have diminished with the formation of the new cabinet. It was expected that the atmosphere of acute polarisation and antagonism that had marked the Jam era would be replaced by a new environment of political reconciliation and coexistence. Sindh being the most troubled province of the country, there were even suggestions that some sort of "consensual government" might be the ideal choice for bringing about a qualitative change in the situation here. But these hopes have now receded in view of indications that the best that can be expected for the present is a change in the style of government rather than a shift away from the policies of the previous government.

However, it would be unfair to prejudge the performance of the new government only on the basis of its size and composition. Any assessment on this score must wait until it has defined its agenda and got down to tackling the myriad problems afflicting the province. It is plain that the Chief Minister will find it hard to create harmony and cohesion among the disparate elements that constitute his government. He will, therefore, be required to muster a strong will and a capacity for enforcing discipline to keep his colleagues in line and motivate them to deal with the problems efficiently and with dedication. To name a few, the law and order situation, the neglected sectors of education and health and the ever-increasing number of the unemployed educated youth need special attention. These problems have formed a vicious circle affecting the civil society and development of Sindh. It is the political and ethnic dimensions of these problems that have complicated matters. They have kept Sindh divided and chronically troubled by lawlessness which, in turn, has bred economic stagnation and unemployment.

To break this cycle, the foremost need is to adopt a policy of reconciliation rather than pursue a senseless course of confrontation and vengeance vis-a-vis the opposition which formed the prime motivation for the

policies and actions of the previous regime. The Chief Minister has already hinted that some elements might try to destabilise his government through political maneuverings or by violent methods. Possibilities of that kind may well be averted by adopting a posture of goodwill and accommodation towards the opposition and by charting a new course which would defuse tensions and antagonism and create a climate in which the basic problems facing the province can be addressed with a reasonable chance of success.

Alienating Key Sindhi Leaders

92AS0844B Karachi DAWN in English 19 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by Sultan Ahmed: "New Team on the Old Trail"]

[Text] A cabinet of 16 ministers and 13 advisers has been sworn in in Sindh twelve days after Mr Muzaffar Hussain Shah became the Chief Minister. Of course, it is a cabinet with a phalanx of advisers and doors are still open for many more MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] and non-MPAs to be included. How many more will join it remains to be seen.

Unfortunately, the two southern provinces of Sindh and Balochistan tend to resort to mega cabinets with large compliments of advisers who have no advice to tender and no one willing to listen to or act on their advice. It reflects the large measure of political uncertainty there.

In Balochistan this practice is designed to accommodate all the major tribes and other interest groups while in Sindh the objective is to keep the PPP [Pakistan People's Party], the largest single party, out of power. And that takes a great deal of political pyrotechnics and unethical deals.

So we have a cabinet in Sindh more in the freewheeling style of Jam Sadiq, although Mr Muzaffar Shah is very different from his controversial predecessor. He is more educated and intellectually better equipped but when it comes to politics, he is forced to follow the pattern of patronage set by Jam with small regard to the cost because of his weak political base and lack of strong group backing him. He never worked to build such a group.

Jam faced opposition mainly from the PPP but Mr Shah is confronting the PPP plus the group of the former Prime Minister Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi following his alienation from IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. This factor could increase the pressure on him from his ministers, advisers, MPAs and local groups in the interior of Sindh. They may ask for more and more favours which he may find too difficult to accede to.

Under parliamentary system, only elected persons become ministers but in Sindh and Balochistan any number of non-elected persons can become advisers with ministerial rank and enjoy all the privileges that go with it. Some advisers can even be more important than the

ministers. In Sindh, the conspicuous example is Mr Irfanullah Marwat who has returned as Adviser to the CM [Chief Minister].

Mr Qabool Shah, a dissident PPP MPA and Mr Asghar Ali Shah, an NPP [National People's Party] dissident have been made ministers to send signals to others in the PPP and NPP that if they desert their parties, they too can be suitably rewarded. It is "horse-trading" all the way; but that is how our feudal politics has been. Too many wrongs are committed in the name of democracy and people, not so much by the uneducated but the well-educated who love power and money no less than the unlettered.

Having made Mr Asghar Ali Shah a minister, the efforts of Mr Shah will be to win over as many MPAs as possible from Mr Jatoi's group so as to enlarge his parliamentary base and sustain himself in office.

The question is: how much a free agent is Mr Shah? He has all the freedom he needs, he insists. His two visits to Islamabad within a week, first to consult the President and the Prime Minister on the cabinet formation and then seek their approval on the final list are taken as an indication of his dependence on the Centre. But he asserts that he has all the powers he needs.

The fact is that he has to function with two kinds of compulsions at opposite ends. On the one side is Islamabad telling him what to do and on the other is the compulsion to do all he could to sustain his majority in the provincial assembly which is possible at a heavy cost in the present political environment in Sindh. Both circumscribe his freedom of action. He asks for a year to produce a perceptible change in Sindh. Jam Sadiq had promised to restore law and order in three months.

The second question is: Will we have the politics of Jam without Jam as the CM and others continue to promise to uphold his legacy, declaring him a "Mard-e-Momin" in the Sind Assembly? On his part, Mr Shah said on Monday on his return from Islamabad that his government's attitude is going to be "positive, conciliatory and democratic." He says that Sindh's problem could be solved only through democratic means. "I believe in accommodating everyone...we need democracy and more democracy for solving our problems."

These are welcome assurances but will he really act on them and seek democratic solutions to the problems in this bleeding province? The people are keeping their fingers crossed as that was not how he began immediately after he became the CM. The arrest of Mr Ali Mohammad Hingoro, detention of Mr Michael Jawed, seizing of five petrol pumps of Mr Taj Mohammad Shaikh in Sukkur and the pressure on Mr Mehrumal who felt forced to leave for the United States, were unwelcome happenings for a new CM to begin with. But Mr Shah says that when he came to know about their detention, he got them released.

Does that mean that some other forces or agencies were working for him on their own to ensure a majority for him in the Sindh Assembly and reduce the opposition? The right way to come to power is not through such coercion, although that may be a part of the new Sindhi or Pakistani pattern. But he should not try to sustain himself in office through such coercive means in a province where any kind of excess leads to a larger counterexcess.

Nor should he be a party to taking in too many advisers, ministers or special assistants and allowing them unlimited expenses, a large fleet of cars and an elaborate security system. I do not know how each minister and adviser comes to have a large number of cars and a long motorcade as they drive around. Instead, he should strive to ensure greater security for the people.

What is the future of the opposition in Sindh Assembly? It has now expanded with the addition of the Jatoi group, though shrunk by desertions. Ms Benazir Bhutto happens to be the gainer. The two together have to become a real parliamentary party and try to check the abuses in the Sindh government, rehabilitate the budget, make the Public Accounts Committee effective, insist on proper accountability, use the Question Hour properly and raise the issues that really affect the masses of Sindh.

It appears that the alienation of Mr Jatoi from the IJI and the Prime Minister has been a continuous process. The two have not met each other since July last, although Mr Jatoi had been spending a good deal of time in Islamabad. But he had his contacts with the President.

Mr Jatoi was not consulted on the selection of the new CM following the death of Jam. He did approve the appointment of Mr Muzaffar Shah as minister for coordination earlier. It was assumed that he would be consulted before a new CM was chosen. But he was not, and that upset him. So he chose to align his group with the PPP which agreed to put forward his son Mr Masroor Jatoi as the CM. Mr Liaquat Jatoi was also with them but when he realised the ruling group was a couple of votes short of a majority, he switched sides. But when he reached there he did not find a ready majority there, and he is then reported to have tried to contact Ms Bhutto over the cordless telephone to see if he could come back but he could not get Ms Bhutto. So, he stayed there.

Will Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi attend the meeting of the heads of the IJI components which the PM is to call soon? That depends on whether he gets an invitation. On his part he has broken up with the IJI formally.

The President and the PM [prime minister] moved swiftly to install a successor for Jam Sadiq. The opposition was outpaced by the government. It expected a couple of days to be given for it to mobilise a majority by trying to take in a few of its deserters and minority community members who were earlier backed by the PPP in their election. But Islamabad took no chances.

What surprised the political observers was the manner in which the President and the PM were publicly stating repeatedly that Jam Sadiq Ali was recovering fast and would resume his duties soon. As one said: "In other countries they come up with health bulletins of rulers; but in Pakistan we get such lies from the top. They do not know how much they are discrediting themselves and taking the people for fools."

Now that Mr Murtaza Jatoi is no longer the communications minister, who will get that important portfolio? If Mr Azam Hoti or some other non-Sindhi MNA [member of National Assembly] gets that portfolio, Sindh will not have a major portfolio at the Centre. Mr Ghous Ali Shah elected from Punjab, is Minister for Defence but without any authority and Mir Hazar Khan Bijarani's Ministry of Defence Production is also a military preserve. Mr Islam Nabi's Ministry of Production is vanishing fast as more and more public sector units get privatised. So communications should stay with Sindh, and Mr Bijarani is trying to keep it here.

As Sindh stays politically split and excessively disturbed otherwise, it is the Centre which is dominating the province and Sindh is having less and less of clout at the Centre.

More of the Same

92AS0844C Karachi DAWN in English 22 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by Mushtaq Ahmad: "New Perceptions in Sindh"]

[Text] The prospects for Sindh under the new leadership that has emerged to fill the vacuum created by the demise of Jam Sadiq Ali, will remain a subject-matter of speculation before making a final assessment of its potentialities to extricate the province from its present predicament.

Whether or not the former chief minister was able to deliver the goods, he had held the fort for the powers that be with his peculiar style of leadership. Made of a sterner stuff he had the reputation of being a strong man of the province, who believed in the politics of confrontation to retain his hold on the seat of power so long as he was alive. His was in a sense a One-Man Party. That is why the coalition he had formed and led, was known as the Jam-MQM [Muhajir Quami Movement] coalition.

To hold together such an ill-assorted assemblage of a well-organised and disciplined party members, unorganised and interested independents, minority MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] willing to attach themselves to the majority for communal considerations, called for extraordinary skill and tact, a combination of artifice and manipulative powers. Few could rival him in the art of politicking, certainly not his successor in office. He was a partyless candidate in the elections in which the PPP [Pakistan People's Party] had won 47 seats out of 100. To cross swords with it he had

to improvise an army of politicians of which the MQM, between whom and the PPP no love was lost, was the vanguard.

The enemy of the enemy, as the saying goes, makes for a friend not only in international politics but also of our brand of national and provincial politics. Every weapon in the political armoury was nationally used to browbeat the opponent, and all being fair in love and war, the methods employed were often harsh, vindictive and even ruthless. With politics placed on a war-footing, it was an emergency without its declaration. Fresh fuel was added to its fire by the reign of terror the dacoits had let loose in the province. The elements that had masterminded their operations in the rural hinterland and on the urban frontline have yet to be identified. For Jam Sahib the PPP was behind every act of sabotage and subversion.

The PPP which had not been kindly to Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's selection as the minister for coordination to look after the day-to-day administration and presiding over cabinet meetings during the sickness of Jam Sadiq Ali, was now well disposed towards his nomination as the new chief minister. On second sober thoughts, its leadership believed that a change of personality would make if not for a change of policy, at least in its accent. The display of unanimity in his election as the Leader of the House did not mean that the chapter opened by his predecessor had been permanently closed and that the sailing would be smooth for the government and the weather not rough for the opposition.

The new leader has inherited the old coalition, which continues to be named after its architect, whose policies and priorities, his political heir has declared, would be upheld and enforced. Antagonising the opposition is not a policy nor the maintenance of law and order a priority if the opposition is indiscriminately held responsible for the breach of peace without adducing evidence to sustain the accusation.

Communal rioting in Pakistan has, especially in the province of Sindh, erupted with increasing frequency ever since the beginning of the eighties in which many lives were lost and many more injured. Their causes need to be thoroughly investigated and removed to restore conditions of social peace. It is wholly erroneous to presume that behind every occurrence of organised and unorganised crime there is a hidden political hand to be treated as a problem of law and order and suppressed by police methods, which has become the wont of our administration and a convenient pretext for its own dereliction of duty. The moment two and two are put together and made to look five, we make politics a handmaid of violence and distort its objective as a vehicle of service to the community.

On his return to Islamabad after visiting a few cities in Sindh in 1983, General Ziaul Haq had informed the nation that during the tour of the province he had seen no evidence of a secessionist movement in the interior

and that there existed a law and order problem created by interested quarters to serve their ulterior ends and that the situation could be brought under control by the enforcement of law and punishment of the miscreants.

Every society has a body of men that seeks to exploit its weaknesses to its advantage. Bringing them within the mischief of law, does not solve the problem whose magnitude continues to grow until it is too late for a solution.

We have had the experience of East Pakistan where men in authority in Karachi and Islamabad, from Ghulam Mohammad down to Field Marshal Ayub Khan, had failed to take notice of the sense of deprivation and consequent feeling of frustration from which the province was suffering, and where General Yahya Khan ultimately deployed a whole army of ninety thousand men to crush the revolt and unsuccessfully tried to prevent its secession.

Long before the parting of the ways, the economists of East Pakistan had meticulously collected and collated the data and marshalled facts and figures to prove their contention that Pakistan was a two-economy state, one a high-income economy and the other a low-income economy with a per capita income, twice as high in West Pakistan, where most of the development, defence and non-development expenditure was incurred.

No wonder, its economy with its income generating capacity was developing faster compared to the stagnating economy of East Pakistan. The charges they levelled were difficult to refute and the truth told was not easy to swallow.

Our politicians talk glibly about Bhutto being responsible for the separation, forgetting that it is disparity that brought it about for which he was not to blame, although he did make political capital out of it. Conditions in the smaller provinces in present-day Pakistan are not parallel to the situation that obtained in the largest province of a united Pakistan, but the fact of disparity is there to create massive social discontent.

The PPP does not owe its parliamentary strength to a separationist electoral demand, and the parties that did articulate the demand, were not able to produce a visible impact on the electorate. What is clearly visible is that the parties which have their power base in the interior strongly feel that repeated federal interference in its internal affairs, including the making and unmaking of governments, has robbed Sindh of its autonomy, jeopardising its constitutional rights to govern itself in the light of its own interest. Karachi is not Sindh but a part of Sindh and yet it is the interests of the part that have figured prominently in the political calculations of the federal government largely because of the powerful vested interests that have developed in the economic life of the metropolis. From its phenomenal progress the rest of Sindh has derived no benefit in terms of employment and income.

The spectacle of widening disparity is seen all over the economic and social spectrum of the province—in manufacturing, transport, communications, health, education and above all, employment opportunities in industry, the professions and administration itself in which Sindh is poorly represented notwithstanding the quota fixed for the rural and urban populations.

Appointments in the higher cadre of services in the public sector enterprises have, by and large, been monopolised by the economically affluent and politically influential persons, who manage to secure domicile certificates, usurping the legitimate claims of the local and indigenous population. On the extent of deprivation, one would look in vain for material even in G.M. Syed's book, "The Sindhu Desh," on which he and his political associates seem to have done no homework.

On the other hand, Justice Khuda Bux Marri's publication, "The Judge May Speak," provides convincing evidence of discrimination against the smaller provinces, whose factories and mines are owned by proprietors described as outsiders and even the workers employed in them are not locally recruited but imported from their parent provinces. Their students get a raw deal in the distribution of scholarship grants from abroad estimated at 300 a year.

If urbanisation is the yardstick for measuring progress, Sindh is the most highly urbanised province of the country with its forty per cent population living in its three major cities of Sukkur, Hyderabad and Karachi. A breakdown of the statistics would, however, lead to a misleading conclusion. For thirty per cent of the urban population is concentrated in Karachi and inside Sindh its percentage works out to only ten. This lack of urbanisation is indicative of its backwardness. While the population ratio of Karachi and the rest of the province is roughly 40 to 60, the manufacturing capacity ratio is 80 to 20; the literacy percentage is 55 and 20; health facilities 75 and 25 per cent and more than 40 per cent of the children of school-going age are without any to attend.

Despite the promises of the Sixth Five-Year Plan of a rapid proliferation of public services and utilities, like electricity, gas, sewage and potable water, 90 per cent of the population has to live without them. These bold statistics make a depressing picture of life of the people, which pacts and accords between political parties and compromises and concessions between the government and the opposition, cannot relieve.

The key to the solution lies in the wider context of patriotism and within the constitutional framework by a will to live together, avoiding all temptations to ethnic polarisation of which the province had a bitter taste not very long ago and from whose fall-out it is still suffering. Divisions in politics are inevitable without which there can be neither politics nor progress, but these must revolve round the basic problems of life and not on who gets what out of the governmental cake.

Large cabinets are only a reflection of the incessant scramble for place and power, and not a proclamation as to what ends power shall be used. We cannot hope for new perceptions from the old set-up Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah has reconstructed in a bid for survival. The old order is not likely to yield place to the new by a reappearance of the very faces responsible for the disorders of the past.

Lacks Healing Touch

92AS0844D Karachi DAWN in English 23 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by M.H. Askari: "The Challenge Before Sindh"]

[Text] Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif's reported statement in Quetta that he would welcome any move for cooperation on the part of PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] aimed at consolidation of the democratic process is not entirely in harmony with his decisions announced earlier to dismiss Communications Minister Murtaza Jatoi from the Cabinet and expel Mr Murtaza Jatoi and his National People's Party (NPP) from the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. The decisions, he claimed, were based on principle.

The Prime Minister and circles close to him have held the PDA and the Jatoi group guilty of surreptitiously plotting to destabilise the Sindh political set-up, after the death of Jam Sadiq Ali. The PPP [Pakistan People's Party] and NPP leaders, however, maintain that their alliance in anticipation of the election of a successor to Jam Sadiq Ali was motivated by good faith and the intent to create an atmosphere of consensus inside the Assembly.

In any case, it was the democratic right of the PPP and the Jatoi group to aspire to the office of chief minister in Sindh when it fell vacant. If they had planned to put up their own candidate for the office of chief executive, it could not really have been regarded as something surreptitious. The fact that they did not put up a candidate once they later realised that the coalition put together by the late Jam would be able to establish its majority and offered to get Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah elected unanimously was apparently based on a pragmatic assessment of the party affiliations within the House.

But then politics is basically a game of expediency and pragmatism. In the overall interest of Sindh, the PPP-PDA gesture to cooperate should not have been seen as something sinister. Indeed, considering the alarmingly unstable political conditions in Sindh, the ruling party would have been well advised to cash in on the show of goodwill from any section of the House.

Both Murtaza Jatoi's dismissal and the treatment meted out to the senior Jatoi and his NPP can only lead to further alienation of an important segment of Sindhi politicians from the Centre and the Prime Minister. This can hardly be expected to defuse tensions which the late Jam Sadiq allowed to build up during the 20 months or so that he was in office.

It would appear to be in nobody's interest to allow the politics of acrimony and confrontation which marked the tenure of the short-lived PPP government and later that of Jam Sadiq Ali's to become an unalterable state of affairs. Having suffered ethnic strife, a lamentable breakdown of law and order and an almost irreversible disruption of economic activity for so many years, Sindh deserves some sort of a healing touch. A continued state of political and economic unrest is neither in the interest of the new government of the province nor conducive to the achievement of the federal government's proposed objective of transforming Pakistan into a self-reliant welfare state. Sindh occupies a strategic location in the economic life of Pakistan and as long as Sindh remains unstable, regardless of which party is in power in the Centre, no amount of development planning will yield any positive result.

The beginning for Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's government has by no means been auspicious. The kidnapping of a leading industrialist, the rocket attack on the Tezgam and the cold-blooded murder of an MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] activist are all symptoms of the canker which has eaten into the social and economic fibre of the society in Sindh. The assurance that law and order would receive top priority by the government is, of course, a redeeming development. However, only a determined effort and an undistracted attention to factors which have gone into the making of the situation that presently prevails in Sindh can hope to bring about a visible change. Rangers cannot forever continue to guard trains moving through Sindh interior at night.

The law and order situation in Sindh has been created by vicious combination of social, economic and political factors which have gone unchecked for years and it would be unrealistic to delink one factor from the other. Social and political instability which stemmed initially from ethnic tensions in the latter half of the eighties led to a serious disruption of economic activity which, in turn, resulted in a sharp decline in employment opportunities. The number of the educated unemployed in Sindh has consequently been on the rise since and some elements among them who cannot be branded as professional criminals have found crime to be a paying business. The free flow of illicit arms which again was a feature of the eighties has been a major contributory factor in the proliferation of crime.

The disturbed conditions in Sindh have not only driven capital and industry out of Sindh but also been a source of discouragement for fresh investment despite the incentives offered by the Nawaz Sharif government. What is a matter of even greater concern is that there can be little hope for improvement in the economic environment as long as the law and order situation continues to be what it is. Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah has to devise a strategy to break this vicious cycle.

What makes the prevailing conditions in Sindh particularly deplorable is the patronage which the criminal elements apparently receive from those in positions of

influence—the feudals in the rural areas and the unscrupulous newly-rich class in the urban areas. They have not only managed to corrupt the administration at the local level but also been in a position to manipulate politicians.

In the interior, the population continues to be trapped in the vice of a feudal system. Crime in the interior could not have continued to thrive without the patronage of the waderas and others of their class. In the urban areas the elite newly-rich class has prospered on its own system of corruption. The net result is that life for the people of Sindh, whether in the interior or in the cities such as Karachi and Hyderabad, has become a virtual nightmare, despite the special courts, the summary punishments, the presence of the Rangers and the law-enforcing agencies. The statistics illustrating that crime of certain categories have registered a fall, as claimed by some official agencies, can be of little consolation to the people at large; kidnappings, holdups and dacoities continue to be a matter of everyday occurrence.

In all fairness, the government headed by Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah deserves to be given a reasonable amount of time before it can be expected to produce any tangible results. However, the composition of the new provincial cabinet does not inspire much confidence. Most of the old faces have come back and even some whose reputation cannot be regarded as free of stigma have also been accommodated in the new set-up. As the veteran Sindhi leader, Hafeez Pirzada, has reportedly suggested in an interview, a good deal of expediency seems to have gone in the selection of the reconstituted cabinet and a government which lacks a solid base in the electorate cannot be expected to wholeheartedly concentrate on the monumental task with which it is faced. It is also difficult to dispute that Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah seems to have missed the opportunity to allow consensus between the government and the opposition to prevail in the conduct of the day-to-day business of governing Sindh.

Just as the MQM has to be accepted as the legitimate representative of the bulk of the urban population, the PPP's right to represent the indigenous Sindhi population in the provincial assembly deserves to be recognised. The PPP after all was returned as the largest single party in the 1990 elections from the interior and came close to securing a clear majority; it was only the late Jam Sadiq Ali's political juggling which produced what had the appearance of a coalition government. Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah had the chance to operate from a much more solid base.

In the short-term, the success (or otherwise) of the new set-up in Sindh will be assessed on the basis of the extent of genuine freeplay which goes into the by-elections and the local bodies elections which are now scheduled to be held. The allocation and actual use of development funds will also determine whether there is a will to ameliorate the lot of the common man regardless of party affiliations.

Yet another factor which is crucial to political stability in Sindh is the increasing concentration of development activity (such as the Lahore-Islamabad highway project) designed to improve the quality of life in the upcountry areas. The absence of such glamorous investments in Sindh (as in some other less developed regions) necessarily creates a sense of deprivation. This has the potential to create the sort of psychological barrier which almost imperceptibly developed between East and West Pakistan in the fifties, and in turn, contributed to the deep sense of alienation between the two wings of the country.

The Prime Minister's speech at the launching of the Baitul Maal scheme (which was read out by the Sindh Chief Minister because of Mr Nawaz Sharif himself being unable to come on account of his indisposition) acknowledged the utter backwardness of areas such as Diplo Taluka of Mithi in the interior. The Prime Minister recognised the glaring disparity of per capita income between parts of Sindh and the national average. Luxuries such as the Lahore-Islamabad Motorway undertaken at a time when the country is suffering from a serious shortfall in resources can only highlight the disparity and add to the sense of deprivation.

Plays With Words

92AS0844E Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 92 p 5

[Article by Liaqat Adeel: "The Burden of Being Chief Minister"; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Karachi—It must be the burden of being the Chief Minister of Sindh that does not allow Syed Muzaffar Husain Shah to have simple answers for simple questions. Otherwise an articulate person like him is generally expected to find a simple answer even to some of the comparatively difficult questions. Whenever one talks to him the first impression Mr Shah leaves on one's mind is that he is straightforward, open-minded, difficult to provoke and easy to communicate with. But on second thought, he realises that he not only knows how not to be swayed by the kind of simple questions which, if answered in a straight manner might clear the confusion in many minds but which might also land him into some trouble. He also knows the art of making one believe that he has said a lot when in fact he would have said nearly nothing.

On Thursday, after talking to him for an hour, I came out of his Assembly Chambers office with the feeling that Mr Shah was not perhaps right subject for an interviewer looking for ready answers to a lot of questions.

Not that he either told me or gave me the impression that some of the questions were uncharitable or loaded. On the contrary, he invited me to ask any questions on any subject. However, what he did was play with words.

For instance, when he is asked whatever happened to the idea of a government of consensus which initially seemed to become a reality, Mr Shah retorts: "What do

you mean by a government of consensus? In a parliamentary system of government there has to be a ruling party and the opposition with their own perceptions of running the government."

Agreed! But isn't Sindh a different ball game and wouldn't it have been better to have some power-sharing arrangement with the opposition? He disagrees, saying that power-sharing is the prerogative of the majority party and his Jam-MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] coalition has a clear majority in the assembly. Whereas the demand of plurality is that there should be a ruling party and the opposition with their own separate perceptions, otherwise people will have no choice.

Another point that Mr Shah likes to emphasise is that cooperation does not mean sharing power. It means unconditional support to the government in the interest of the people and on the part of the government, unconditional accommodation and protection of the opposition. Any cooperation other than this would not be based on principles but self-interest.

He says Sindh needs a government based on a broad-based alliance and given the fact that his Jam-MQM coalition has numerous political sections like the MQM, independents, minorities and the Pagara group, his government meets the political, ethnic and social demands of the province.

Referring to PDA [People's Democratic Alliance], Mr Shah says, first, in the house of 109 members a party of 30 MPAs [members of Provincial Assembly] can hardly be called a majority party. Second, forming a coalition government is nothing novel. It is a democratic practice in vogue in many countries of the world.

Mr Shah terms the impression that there is a parallel government in Sindh false. He says if he did not know about the rearrest of Ali Mohammad Hingoro there was nothing unusual about it. It is not possible for a chief minister to have knowledge of everything. The very fact that Mr Hingoro was granted bail is an indication of free judiciary. Since Mr Hingoro is an MPA, when he was rearrested, the matter was brought to the notice of the chief minister. "After going through his files when I found out that he had been rearrested in an old case, I did not think the action was warranted and ordered his release. This is a classical case of the government's good intentions."

Mr Shah maintains that the former IGP [Inspector General of Police] had not been transferred under some pressure. In fact the decision had been taken a month earlier and that also according to the law which requires mutual consultation of the federal and provincial governments on the matter.

About the continuation of 'Jam's mission', he says during the last one-and-a-half years, the way hatred and acrimony have been replaced by ethnic harmony is what he and his colleagues refer to as Jam's mission.

But in the public perception wouldn't this, most probably, mean political victimisation? The Chief Minister does not agree and calls it a campaign of disinformation.

If the Jam era was such a wonderful period, then why did Mr Shah have to say that with the new government Sindh's politics had entered a new stage? He says because the government and the opposition have reached an understanding where they refuse to indulge in the politics of allegations and the counter allegations. But who took the initiative—the opposition or the government? Mr Shah does not want to go into details.

The federal government expressed its unhappiness over the Jatoi Group's alliance with the PDA in Sindh through the dismissal of Mr Murtaza Jatoi from the Federal Cabinet and then the expulsion of the senior Jatoi and his NPP [National People's Party] from the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad]. Mr Shah approves of the action, saying that you can't sit in the government and the opposition at the same time. The Jatoi Group had entered into an alliance with the opposition without consulting its previous partners.

But still the Jatoi Group's alliance with the PDA was restricted to the Sindh Assembly and, therefore, was only a provincial matter so how can one help not taking this as the federal governments interference in Sindh? Mr Shah says the federal and Sindh governments have a commonality of perception. They share common feelings.

His appeal to all political parties and various sections of the society is to cooperate with his government in the larger interest of the country, the people and Sindh. His pledge is to ensure the rule of law, justice to all and malice against none.

Polarization Continuing Unabated

92AS0844F Karachi DAWN in English 28 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by Mazdak: "Supping With the Devil"]

[Text] Although the PPP's [Pakistan People's Party] withdrawal of support to Muzaffar Shah, Sindh's new Chief Minister, hardly came as a surprise, it did cause a twinge of regret at the lost opportunity. For the first time in several years, there was a glimmer of hope that a calming consensus would emerge to replace the polarisation and confrontation that pass for politics in Sindh.

But as so often in the past expedience and opportunism have combined to dash these hopes. The composition of the new cabinet was hardly meant to send a signal to the opposition that its harassment was about to end. Indeed, the induction of three PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] renegades clearly indicates that it is business as usual on the horse-exchange. And Irfanullah Marwat's retention as an "adviser" means that Muzaffar Shah is being remote-controlled from Islamabad, much as his predecessor was.

So what else is new? Precious little, except that the new Chief Minister had a narrow window of opportunity which he has chosen to slam shut. Had he decided instead to stand firm before the conflicting tugs and pushes from the capital and tried to begin the uphill task of healing the wounds inflicted on his province by years of misrule, he would have won our admiration and respect, even if he had had Islamabad's support yanked out from under him in the process.

But in his desperation to hang on at any cost, Shah has squandered whatever political capital he had started out with. Within weeks of his elevation to chief ministership, he has shown himself up as yet another politician who is willing to sup with the devil, if that is what it takes to stay in office.

This is as great pity because at the outset, he had a number of assets whose worth he does not seem to have recognised. Firstly, he was not tainted too heavily by having served under the late Jam Sadiq. Secondly, he is not known to be corrupt, as so many of his colleagues are. But most of all, he is the one candidate acceptable to most of the major political forces in Sindh, and the power-brokers in Islamabad know this fact well.

So Shah could have negotiated from a position of strength, instead of knuckling under at the first crack of the whip from the ageing lion-tamer. The worst that could have happened was that his (bare) parliamentary majority would have evaporated, and Muzaffar Shah would have no motorcycle outriders preceding and following him about. But he would have emerged with far more honour and credit by taking a popular stand like, say, refusing to toe the given line in forming his cabinet.

Instead, he has chosen to echo past pronouncements, even saying recently, for example, that there had been no agreement with the opposition to secure its support in his unanimous vote of confidence. Even if there had been no formal agreement, surely it was churlish of him to make such an unequivocal statement: there are times when discreet ambiguity makes better political sense.

By painting himself into a corner so early in his term of office, Shah has guaranteed that he will have to be constantly alert for sniping from the opposition. While it is unlikely to take the form of street agitation, there could well be moves to chip away at his narrow support base in the provincial assembly. In addition, he will have to constantly look over his shoulder at the eminence grise in Islamabad, hoping for his approval, and forever fearful of his displeasure.

The worst case scenario—and one cited by the PDA to explain its support for Shah—is that if it were not possible to form a government of Islamabad's liking in Sindh, governor's rule would have been promulgated. Too bad. Things under Jam Sadiq were probably worse than almost any period of martial law, and the brutalisation of Sindh was carried out under the garb of a democratic dispensation.

We all know the true nature of the electoral process that has produced the present provincial (and national) assembly, so its dissolution would not have been any great loss. Indeed, fresh elections—at least in Sindh—could be the way out of the mess we are in today, provided, of course, the electoral process was not tampered with as grossly as in 1990.

But whatever the outcome of the present deadlock, Muzaffar Shah will be remembered as the man who had an opportunity to stretch out the olive branch to the opposition, but stuck out a mailed fist instead.

Manipulated by Islamabad

92AS0844G Karachi DAWN in English 31 Mar 92 p 11

[Article by M. Naqvi: "Making a New Beginning"]

[Text] Immediate void created by Jam Sadiq Ali's death has been filled by Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah's new 29-man government. Two more instalments of ministry-making are said to impend. What does the new Ministry signify?

Many had yearned for a new beginning. The kind of politics for which the late Jam Saheb was famous had, in fact, further polarised the divided body politic of Sindh, although it bought peace for a time. The outlook for this province in his last days seemed even more clouded and most people were gravely apprehensive. Absence of killings or curfews since August 1990 is a fact. But, as most people have noted, it is not much more than a truce; peace remains to be made.

Mr Shah, for all his suave urbanity and decencies, was a part and parcel of Jam Saheb's dispensation. Many will ask the question: Would he carry on from where the redoubtable Jam left off? Or would he make a departure and work for a grand reconciliation between both the two main ethnic communities and the parties that represent them in Assemblies?

No doubt Mr Shah has made fine declarations and has repeatedly affirmed his faith in the rule of law and justice among all. But the late Jam Saheb, too, never disavowed belief in democratic percepts and norms. He merely ignored them and worked against the spirit of democratic values even when he somehow managed to observe the empty formalities of democracy.

Left to himself, the Jam would perhaps have loved to observe the spirit of all good principles people usually believe in. But Jam Saheb was a man caught in the maelstrom of Pakistani politics after August 1990. While there can be no dilution of personal responsibility, his actions could be seen to have been largely dictated from Islamabad. The question of questions is: Can Syed Muzaffar Hussain Shah rise above the compulsions of that strait-jacket?

All would love to give the new Sindh Chief Minister a chance to show his mettle. That would, however, depend on the lead he gives. His is not a minor job. He is

supposed to be the democratic leader of an important province. He is supposed to be its chief executive and representative of its people. The people of this unhappy province, harassed as they are by a terrible crime rate and polarised as their society is, are still awaiting the quality of the lead he would provide them and show the way to overcoming the many and painful problems of underdevelopment that are their fate.

To be frank, the auguries are not rated as good: the size of the government, the time Mr Shah took to assemble this crowd and the way he had to rush to Islamabad twice before announcing his first installment of the government shows that he had to defer to various power centres in Islamabad. The people of the province have, in fact, witnessed a pathetic demonstration of how much do Islamabad authorities respect the provincial autonomy that is written into the Constitution. They are not likely to forget it.

Then, in addition, the complexion of the government is clear. The signatures of both Jam Sadiq Ali and Mr Ghulam Ishaq Khan can be seen all over it. Indeed, those of Mr Shah are hard to see. Even so, Mr Shah deserves a break and people should not prejudice him yet. That he has not yet, two weeks after, disappointed those who wanted him to turn a new leaf in the political book should sustain hope. This does not translate into more of the same—at least not yet. So far Mr Shah has said or done nothing that would definitely establish that he has no new ideas or that he cannot or would not make a new beginning. Heavens be praised. Let us not prejudice Mr Shah's chances of leading the province out of the quagmire it has been in.

It is by no means for the new Sindh Chief Minister only to provide the requisite lead. That is also the challenge for all who aspire to lead the people; indeed, it is a part of the latter's duty. This includes both ruling and opposition parties. Indeed one feels like underscoring the otherwise usual practice of opposition parties not only treating themselves as an alternative government-in-waiting but behaving like a responsible government not yet in power by working out programmes in more or less practicable as well as credible detail on all matters of importance agitating the popular mind.

One would go even further: it is not only the nominally main parliamentary opposition that is supposed to provide an alternative lead, other parties and the more responsible citizens and commentators who should do so—so long as they give their reasoning about both how and why their suggestions and lines of approach would, in fact, meet the demands of the situation. This latter aspect acquires greater significance through all too loudly whispered appreciation of Mr Shah as no more than a continuation of late Jam Saheb.

How does one define the quagmire in which Sindh is caught, to begin with? At the primary level, the law and

order are seen to have broken down; the central undercover agencies are being used to arrest dacoits, kidnappers and car-lifters. The ineffectual local police is scarcely local either in composition or in command—a police about which the popular demand has long been: disband it. It is too corrupt and too directly involved in crimes. Also, the central authorities need to be shooed off from their various local vantage points and crevices in Sindh administration. Would the new Sindh Government be equal to this obvious and primary job?

But these are not the chief preoccupations of the thoughtful, though significant as these objectives are. Far and away, the politics of the province has to be normalised at both the popular and governmental levels. That obviously presupposes ethnic peace. As has been noted, peace can only be established on a firm foundation when the opinion-makers of both Sindhi-speaking and Urdu-speaking Sindhis reconcile themselves and are successful in evolving common positions and demands regarding various problems concerning the rights of the people of Sindh and not privileges given to them. However it is only Sindhis themselves of both communities who can work for and win them from central authorities; singly, no community stands a chance of achieving anything worthwhile.

Mr Shah is quite right in talking about the rule of law, for the first task of anyone establishing the rule of law is to ensure that human and citizenship rights of the people—absolutely equal for all—are meticulously observed. Not only that. They have to be clearly and adequately defined and indeed built upon by popular consensus to include revolutionary new rights: to adequate education, health-care, suitable jobs and other facilities essential for a civilised living. It is in the context of increasing prosperity that observance of the rule of law and respect for human and citizenship rights makes sense.

This may sound naive and Utopian. But it is not. It is true that vast numbers of the unemployed and the poor of all communities are involved. It is the job of those who pretend to lead the people to find workable means of achieving such objectives.

The trouble is that people mix issues. Fundamental problems facing every Sindhi, whatever his mother tongue, are mainly economic and social: He is usually poor and, other things being equal, unemployed; above all, his chances of making good in life are not too bright. Socially, the situation is even more piquant: except the minuscule class of well-to-do rich waderas and the few highly successful professionals, most of the ethnic Sindhis are social inferiors, required to show conspicuous deference to the nobly born. This is peculiar to Sindhi-speakers; Urdu-speakers, mostly in cities, tend to ignore showing respect to waderas and thus have no recognised position in the traditional Sindhi social order, completing their isolation.

But the poverty of Sindhi-speakers owes a great deal more to this social order (which issues feudal land tenure

system) than to several other real enough factors. Smashing this social system is the precondition of Sindhis making any economic and social progress. This will be beneficial to all, Sindhis and non-Sindhis. In the political spheres, both Urdu and Sindhi-speaking people are sailing in the same boat. At the level of generalisation, their human and citizenship rights, as defined in the constitution, are being observed very very indifferently—respected when the government is not involved and subverted where the citizen happens to belong to opposition parties.

But there is another level: provincial autonomy is, even as enunciated in the Constitution, being ignored in day-to-day matters; look at the way Mr Muzaffar Hussain Shah has formed the first part of his government after having had to visit Islamabad twice as Jam Sadiq Ali had done in his day. Not only the Constitution has been in actual practice subverted, much of Sindhi (parliamentary) politics is being manipulated by Islamabad authorities. This, too, concerns all ethnic groups in Sindh.

Insofar as protecting Sindhi language and culture is concerned, two separate statements need to be made: overcentralisation of administrative practices needs to be stopped either by a constitutional amendment or by simple agreement in CCI [Controller of Capital Issues] that would make provincial autonomy more substantial and cut the dead wood in Islamabad's bureaucratic jungle. It is time that, at the very least, the concurrent list of subjects be abolished in the way the constitution envisaged.

Secondly, federalism becomes nonsense if it does not include a robust working autonomy for municipal committees, corporations, district councils, and even union and tehsil councils—to make them effective local governments.

The local governments have to be made vigorous by enabling them to keep peace, plan and implement local development by raising their own resources. That is how all Sindhis will actually enjoy autonomy and fears for the unity of Sindh can hopefully be reduced.

Jatoi Seen Victim of Dirty, Narrow Politics

92AS0845C Karachi DAWN in English 23 Mar 92 p 1

[Article by Ayaz Amir: "The Choice Before the Pakistani People"]

[Text] How many times in his colourful political career has Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi—whom unkind critics with little justification call Pakistan's permanent prime minister-in-waiting—sacrificed self-interest for the sake of the highest principles?

During the martial law years he ran with the hare and (almost) hunted with the hounds. With the Bhutto ladies in jail or in exile, he was de facto head of the Pakistan People's Party [PPP], assiduously paid court to and feted

by the yuppies with which that party has always abounded. At the same time he was on friendly terms with the country's military rulers, even being offered (as he has never tired of declaring) the prime ministership by General Zia in 1983.

In 1986 he switched sides after he could no longer stomach Ms Benazir Bhutto's arrogant ways. The National People's Party [NPP] that he founded thereafter was, however, a bit of a disaster. Formed with great fanfare (and not a little money) it was about as successful as, in its time, Mr Hanif Ramay's Musawaat or Panja party (Mr Ramay for some astrological reason having chosen an outstretched palm as its inspiring emblem).

The 1988 elections marked the low point of Mr Jatoi's fortunes. He was soundly beaten in both the National Assembly constituencies from which he had chosen to stand. A lesser man would have retreated into the wilderness to lick his wounds. Not so Mr Jatoi. Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, another person who has made the defence of the highest principles the basis of his politics, vacated a seat for him in Kot Addu which proved to be Mr Jatoi's ticket to the National Assembly. Once in those hallowed chambers, he was promptly elected, such being the wages of charisma, the leader of the combined parliamentary opposition.

There was nothing very spectacular that Mr Jatoi did during the 20 riotously amusing months during which Ms Bhutto presided (if that be the correct word) over the destinies of this country. But he did with steady patience what he has always done best: biding his time and making himself available for all contingencies. When President Ghulam Ishaq Khan (with no small help from Pakistan's foremost democrat-in-uniform, General Aslam Beg) dismissed the National Assembly and cut short Ms Bhutto's stay in the prime minister's house, there were no two opinions about their choice for the post of caretaker prime minister. Nor did Mr Jatoi disappoint them. All the moves initiated from the Presidency—from the references pushed against Ms Bhutto to the verification campaign launched against her person and the extraordinary care taken to load the dice against the PPP during the ensuing election campaign—enjoyed his full support and concurrence. If he felt any qualms about what was happening he kept them carefully hidden.

Mr Jatoi's troubles started once the results of the National Assembly elections started pouring in. A powerful lobby headed by General Aslam Beg (now sadly reduced to calling obscure American professors to his seminars—such being the transient nature of human glory) wanted Mr Jatoi to continue as prime minister. But the Punjab results had an unsettling effect on their plans. The IJI's [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] victory in Pakistan's most crucial province was so one-sided and complete that Mian Nawaz Sharif's bid for the prime ministership became unstoppable. Which only proves once again that, whereas Pakistani elections can be

doctored or at least affected, in the absence of a sophisticated state machinery they cannot be fine-tuned.

Before the inevitable Mr Jatoi had to bow but with an ill-grace that could be spotted from a distance as a sop to his wounded vanity, he was offered the post of deputy prime minister. But having tasted the waters of the prime ministership, anything less intoxicating he was not prepared to accept. Nor was this an unwise decision. With somebody as smart and clever as Mian Nawaz Sharif in the prime minister's chair, Mr Jatoi would have chafed under the collar as his subordinate.

Nevertheless, Mr Jatoi did not do badly when the spoils of office were distributed. One of his sons became an important federal minister. Another joined the Sindh cabinet under Jam Sadiq Ali. A brother romped home into the Senate. Earlier on, of course, Jam Sadiq Ali (to whose ghost many people in Sindh should eternally be grateful) had ensured the election of at least half a dozen Jatoi nominees to the provincial assembly.

Compare Mr Jatoi's good fortune with the fate of some other Sindhi politicians who cut a big or a dashing figure during the first PPP government in the seventies and his resilience looks all the more remarkable. To take but one example, Mr Mumtaz Bhutto has won not a single election since 1977 and has been reduced to waving the tattered banner of his lost confederal cause and occasionally issuing angry statements to newspapers. Mr Jatoi, on the other hand, while being denied the fruits of what he thinks is his due—the country's prime ministership—has slid comfortably into the role of an elderly politician (*buzurg siasatdan*). In this country when somebody attains this status or the status of a *buzurg sahabi* (journalist) ordinary standards of conduct do not apply to him. He can cut what corners he likes, secure in the knowledge that his actions, far from inviting any censure, will be looked upon with the greatest indulgence.

What Mr Jatoi has lately been up to in his home province proves that he has not lost the ability to surprise. A year ago it would have taken a brave or an exceptionally perceptive man to imagine a coalition between him and Ms Benazir Bhutto. But after the death of Jam Sadiq this eventuality has come to pass. Not long ago the two could not abide each other. Now they have locked hands for the sake of Sindh and the sake of democracy. Of such stuff is Pakistani patriotism made.

But with Mr Jatoi things never being as simple as they might appear, his motives remain obscure. After Jam Sadiq's death it seemed as if he was trying to improve his bargaining position by appearing to have the PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] on his side. Considering his present discomfiture (his son having been sacked from the federal cabinet and he himself having been expelled from the IJI—with no visible gains to offset these losses), the possibility that he might have over-played his hand, thereby committing a miscalculation, cannot be discounted.

Whatever the case, one last thing regarding Mr Jatoi needs to be recorded. His long political career has demonstrated his staying power not to mention his extreme flexibility. It also indicates that he possesses a fair amount of ambition. But nothing that he has so far done shows that he has the least capacity to conjure up from the dim recesses of his mind a single fresh idea or to analyse, with any degree of precision, the problems which crowd our national agenda. But for all this, there is no escaping Mr Jatoi. No morning's newspaper is complete without some reference to him or to his activities even if these involve nothing more strenuous than receiving people at home or going out to dinner.

Admittedly, it is unfair to latch on to Mr Jatoi alone in this manner. From Mian Nawaz Sharif to Ms Benazir Bhutto the green pastures of Pakistani politics present a dispiriting picture. The only choice before the people of this country is to suffer one set of dummies after another. For over forty years they have lived with the hope of change. Now they have come to the realisation that their hopes were based upon a grand illusion. There is no denying that the sins of the Pakistani people are great and many, but what they have done to deserve this particular fate remains, for the moment, an unfathomable mystery.

Potential Return to Martial Law Foreseen

BK1204103192 Lahore *THE NATION* in English
13 Apr 92

[Editorial: "Martial Law 'Scare'"]

[Text] A martial law scare is being spread again. It has not been uncommon for some politicians to predict a doomsday scenario for the future of democracy in this country when they themselves are not at the helm of affairs. And it is either because they wish to bring home the strategic value of their political support to the party in power, or they are 'wired' to one or the other agency deliberately trying to undermine the credibility of the democratic system. Ironically, there has been no dearth of politicians whose obsession for securing power has been so overriding that they couldn't care less for democracy of constitutional rule and became willing accomplices to Bonapartist elements. Nevertheless, when the Jamaat-i-Islami Amir says in all seriousness that the choice for his party was either to stick to the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] or pave the way for a martial law, and his Naib Amir warns that a 'martial law cannot be ruled out under the circumstances' one has to look into the 'martial law scare' a little more seriously than it would have been called for by Pir Pagara's favourite imagery. No one will dispute Prof. Ghafoor's assertion that imposition of martial law will have disastrous consequences for the security of the country and the government and the Opposition should join hands to forestall it. It is, however, not clear what makes the Jamaat leaders so apprehensive about the efficacy of the democratic system, unless they have been at it to pressure the IJI for a better bargain.

Ostensibly, there has been no cause for sounding an alarm. The government, at the Centre as well as in provinces, is firmly in the saddle facing no worthwhile challenge either in the Assemblies or in the streets, and whatever cracks have appeared in the ruling coalition are by no means unmanageable. And there has hitherto been not a single incident of open infighting in the power hierarchy to suggest that the working equation among the co-sharers of power has been disturbed. Nonetheless, the prophets of doom have yet found it handy to smell rat. Perhaps the inclination to see 'martial law around the corner' is a hangover from the long dark years of authoritarian rule. To many politicians, reared in the tradition of

playing second fiddle to Army generals, advent of civilian rule is a scenario too good to be true and they are yet mentally stuck with Zia legacy. Incidentally, the Jamaat-i-Islami also happens to be one of the beneficiaries of the decade of martial law, regardless of what Prof. Ghafoor has to say about the dangerous implications of another martial law. It should indeed be a cause for concern for the Prime Minister and his colleagues that, despite having won a landslide electoral victory, the IJI government has not yet managed to acquire sufficient credibility as a viable alternative to military rule. And ironically enough among those spreading the scare of martial law is a component of the ruling coalition.

Finance Minister Upholds Privatization

92AS0774C Islamabad *THE MUSLIM in English*
3 Mar 92 pp 10, 12

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text]

Privatisation Has Boosted Economy: Sartaj

Islamabad, March 2: Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz has said that privatisation process and other economic reforms undertaken by the government have resulted in enormous boom in the stock market and improvement in the investment climate of the country.

Speaking on Monday at the inaugural session of five-day conference on 'privatisation in developing countries—economic, techniques and management of the process' attended by 40 representatives from fifteen countries, the Finance Minister said that the privatisation process being pursued in transparent manner helped improve the value of 450 listed companies at the stock exchange from dollars 2 billion to 5.5 billion within a period of one year.

The index of companies, he said went up from 280 to 650 companies in the year. Referring to the sale of public sector units, the Minister made it clear that 45 units given in the private sector were purchased by the medium scale and new investors instead of established groups.

"We have already privatised two out of five major commercial banks and about 45 out of 100 industrial units. Negotiations for the sale of another 10 industries are in an advanced stage", he added.

The Minister said that some industries which were larger and profitable might be disinvested gradually through the stock exchange.

He said, the government was mindful of its responsibilities toward the employees who have major stake in the privatisation process. We have taken several measures to safeguard the genuine rights and interests of the workers and to minimise their hardships. We have ensured that not a single employee will be laid off in the first year of privatisation and the terms and conditions of service of the employees will be protected", he said.

The government, he said, was also strengthening the role of the State Bank of Pakistan, the Corporate Law Authority and the Monopoly Control Authority to ensure that privatised institutions work within the framework of the law and the relevant rules and regulations. It was also proposed to create regulatory bodies for regulating the tariff for utilities like telephone and electricity and to protect the interests of the consumers, he added.

The Minister said the allegation of the critics about selling of "family silver" at a throw-away price was far from the truth.

The Minister said: "We have also succeeded in concluding an agreement with the workers of the public sector enterprises which provides a golden handshake scheme, training and rehabilitation of surplus workers and providing them opportunities for self-employment." So far seven industrial units have been sold or offered to 4,795 employees. One of the commercial banks has also been sold to 7,500 employees under the Employees Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP).

Pakistan's privatisation programme is part of a major plan of reforms covering all the sectors of the economy to accelerate the pace of economic and social development and move towards greater self-reliance, he said.

Finance Minister of Guyana, Carl B. Greenidge in his speech said that privatisation process was being pursued in many countries against a background of severe, if not unprecedented economic crisis.

The issue of privatisation has now become a fad among development institutions and bilaterals involved in providing assistance to the developing countries, he added.

He expressed the hope that the conference would help exchange the experiences of the participants in the formulation of the recommendations to address the main concerns.

Peter Unwin, Deputy Secretary General (Economic) of Commonwealth Secretariat in his speech, said it was a matter of record that in recent years a large number of countries had embarked upon active privatisation programmes.

He was of the view that markets were the best judges of values and the market process could allocate resources more efficiently than central planning.

Secretary General, Finance, Saeed Ahmed Qureshi said that the conference had the task to exchange experiences, anticipate problems in the wake of privatisation process, and try to find balance in conflicting requirements.

Fifteen countries including Gambia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Jamaica, Guyana, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Britain, New Zealand and Ghana are participating in the conference.—APP

Privatisation Main Pillar of Economic Reforms

Islamabad, March 2: With a bold initiative for taking the Opposition into confidence over the alleged controversial privatisation policy of the government, Federal Finance Minister Sartaj Aziz, along with the head of the Privatisation Commission managed to convince the members of the Parliament on Monday that the policy was a "major pillar" of the economic reforms programme and it should be continued with present trend of transparency in the system.

"Privatisation policy is one of the most important component of economic reforms programme being implemented by the government for overcoming the stagnation of economic growth for about two decades, as the process is all encompassing," announced the Finance Minister while briefing the special session of the joint meeting of the Finance Committees of both Houses.

The briefing was arranged to take the members, including Opposition MPs [Member of Parliament], into confidence about the privatisation policy of the government and removing their doubts about the whole exercise.

The participants made their own suggestions to open up the whole system of privatisation with some reservations about what they called "unholy haste".

Some of the members, however, stressed the "mixed economy", with more incentives to private sector but with moderate, balanced, comprehensive structure of the privatisation.

None of the participants objected to the utility and immense benefits of the privatisation, except stressing the need to always go for taking the Parliament into confidence about any move which the government intends to initiate on any vital project.

"I think the matter should also be opened up in the Parliament for discussion so that members could exercise their right to put forward suggestions to be incorporated before privatisation is proceeded further," suggested PDA [People's Democratic Alliance] member Zafar Ali Shah, who was otherwise irrelevant most of the time.

The meeting presided over by Federal Minister, along with Chairman Privatisation Commission, Lt. Gen. (Retd.) Saeed Qadir, Chairman Finance Committee of the Senate Prof. Khurshed Ahmed and Parliamentary Secretary of Finance Rana Tanveer Ahmed discussed in an open and frank atmosphere the progress so far made.

The meeting was informed that the Opposition's allegations of concentration of wealth, one-family industrial benefits and increasing unemployment through privatisation were baseless and unfounded, as the government has already made the whole process transparent.

The participants were informed that the workers' interests were fully safeguarded before launching the privatisation, unprecedented in the world history.

The broad objectives of privatisation and deregulation as listed by the Minister were: creating a liberal economic environment, removing trade and tariff barriers, improving national productivity, achieving rapid industrialisation, facilitating access of private sector to financial resources, improving efficiency and profitability, insulating economy from political interference, developing a viable capital market and releasing resources for social and physical infrastructure.

While inviting the suggestions to make the process more effective, the commission's chairman provided a detailed document containing the progress of the government in privatising the industrial units of the public sector.

According to this document one hundred state-owned industrial units were offered for sale in the private sector.

So far 20 units—3 automobiles, 3 cement plants, 3 chemical units, 2 engineering units, 2 ghee corporations and 7 roti plants—have been handed over to private sector after fulfilling the conditions.

Six other units are under transfer and their handing/taking over is likely to be completed within this month.

In all payments against another 15 number of units are being awaited before handing them over to new management.

Negotiations on another 14 units are under way and the bidders are asked to match their bids with the 90 per cent of the reference price.

However, the government has decided to readvertise about 49 units against which either the bids were not received or the bids filed with the commission were not declared qualified for the purchase of the units.

The government, the briefing revealed, has so far got Rs 2.363 billion out of the sale of units and much more than that is expected with the completion of the first phase of the on-going privatisation process.

Official Study Shows Misuse of Foreign Aid

92AS0813A Karachi DAWN in English 1 Mar 92 p 1

[Article by Ihtashamul Haque; quotation marks as published]

[Text] Islamabad, 29 February: Most of the foreign aid provided to Pakistan during 1991 was wasted on "non-productive activities" thus increasing the burden on an already deteriorating economy.

An official study has revealed that foreign aid during 1991 was little used for core development as most of it was wasted on non-productive ventures.

"This was high time that the burden of foreign aid be fully analysed," the official study observed, suggesting that the Planning Commission and provincial governments should examine this sorry state of affairs, in which foreign aid, which mostly consists of hard loans, was being misused wittingly or unwittingly on such a large scale.

In this regard it was recommended to the federal government to take a "political decision" to curtail this foreign aid as well as development projects according to pragmatic national priorities.

To avoid misuse of funds specially those received from donor countries, it has been recommended that projects approval should be linked with "resource availability, sectoral priorities and five year plan."

The government was also advised to frame new procedure and rules for enforcing accountability in cases of wastage and misuse of foreign and local funds. "At present there are rules and procedures for enforcing accountability but in given conditions enforcement of these rules are not there," the study added.

It was also pointed out that the existing financial system was not working satisfactorily. Out of the total annual revenue of about 150 billion rupees 70 billion went to debt payments while remaining rupees 80 billion were allocated for defence.

The entire development programme and administrative expenditure were financed by internal and external borrowings because "our spendings were more than earnings," the study added.

It was also observed that a greater sense of responsibility was required for utilising national resources and that the government should 'cut its coat according to the cloth.'

The study regretted that ambitious projects were never implemented and always resulted in cost overruns and delays in implementation. Resultantly, such projects, instead of providing expected benefits to the society, left a "negative effect on the economy as most of the funds were wasted."

It was further observed that there was a need for better sectoral analysis and planning before undertaking projects. Project implementation should be monitored and supervised, particularly at provincial level, as their involvement in development process would increase after the NFC award.

An observation was made that matching of resources with the outlay required for projects was fully taken care of by the Planning Commission in the formulation of five year plans.

However, often government had failed to mobilize projected resources for plans. For the seventh five-year plan a 31-member committee was set up to make proposals for resource mobilisation but nothing came out of it.

The Ministry of Finance has been advised to assess resources for the 8th five-year plan so that investment should be projected on a realistic basis. In this regard, a paper would be submitted to the NEC during the current month. It was suggested that the policy should be to provide for those projects which were already in progress, before providing for new projects.

Bhutto Calls For Higher Taxes on Rich

92AS0845A Karachi DAWN in English 2 Apr 92 p 1

[Text] Karachi, April 1—PPP [Pakistan People's Party] Cochairman and Leader of the Opposition Benazir Bhutto on Wednesday advocated increased taxation on higher income groups as well as a reduction in the "lavish expenditure" of the State in order to contain the increasing budget deficit.

Speaking at a Press conference on the National Budget—Performance and Prospects, Ms Bhutto cautioned that the Government's "low priority to balancing the budget" was likely to result in a deficit of Rupees 100 billion this year, possibly rising to Rupees 130 billion next year. Quoting State Bank figures, she said while the Government had estimated it would borrow Rupees 13 billion from the bank during 1990-91 it ended up borrowing Rupees 43 billion, adversely affecting the liquidity for potential industrial investors.

Ms Bhutto was critical of another "irresponsible" and "unrealistic" budget for 1991-92, nothing could raise the budget deficit to as high as Rupees 100 billion. Pointing out that although the Finance Minister had mostly talked of increasing revenue receipts by improved collection of taxes, etc., this improvement could not occur overnight, the government would probably again take recourse to State Bank loans.

She expressed the fear that the budget deficit would cause the already double digit inflation to take the economy out of control. "Unless monetary policies are set right, devaluation of the rupee will continue," she warned. The margin in the dual exchange rate remained as high as ever, she asserted.

To overcome an "inevitable budget deficit of Rupees 130 billion in 1992-93," Ms Bhutto advocated increased taxation, withdrawal of exemptions and strict enforcement of tax laws.

Pledging the PPP's priority of reviving the economy, Ms Bhutto said the need of the hour was to concentrate on the infrastructure, restore law and order in the province, improve education, rationalise taxes and liberalise the economy.

She was critical of the Motorway Project between Islamabad and Lahore, saying that only the rich who wanted smooth roads would benefit from it. Saying that the project was "overinvoiced," she recommended projects for improving the nation's health, education, water, sewerage and drainage, and controlling salinity and water-logging.

The overall deficit during 90-91, she claimed, deteriorated sharply to 9 per cent of the GDP [Gross Domestic Product], instead of 5.8 per cent as claimed by the government. Public expenditure registered an increase of 27 per cent in just one year against an average increase of 15 per cent during the last 10 years.

Furthermore, the IJI [Islami Jamhoori Ittehad] government, she said, employed the most inflationary method for financing the deficit with borrowing from the State Bank accounting for 50 per cent of the deficit, as compared to only 6 per cent by the previous government.

The monetary situation was also disturbing with money supply increasing at a rate which was 23 per cent higher than last year's and it was growing at twice the rate planned by the monetary authorities. During 1991-92, she said, the government had obtained Rupees 43 billion budgetary support from the State Bank during the last seven months, against Rupees 7 billion provided for the whole year.

The overall pressure on the external account, caused partly by the budget deficit necessitated the downward adjustment of the rupee, she said.

The former Prime Minister opposed frequent changes in tax laws, tax structures and assessment procedures for effective planning. Fiscal policies should be for a minimum period of three years, and any changes should be brought about after eliciting the views of the chambers of commerce and industry, she remarked.

Ms Bhutto also criticised the issuance of notices under Section 144 of the Income Tax Ordinance of 1979 and suggested that this section should only be used by the ITOs [Income Tax Office/Officer] as a last resort and that too after obtaining permission from the Commissioner of Income Tax, for a maximum of three years.

Asked if she viewed the agriculture sector as one of the new avenues for revenue generation, Ms Bhutto said, the agricultural community was already paying a number of taxes. "Even if you put any new tax on the agriculture community, it won't bring in enough money," she remarked.

About cutting defence expenditure to meet the budget deficit, Ms Bhutto said until Pakistan and India sign mutual arms reduction treaty, it would not be possible for any government to cut defence expenditure.

She suggested the treaty so that Pakistan could cut its budget deficit and spend enough on priority sectors.

Daily Notes Government Steps To Contain Inflation

*BK2004134192 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
20 Apr 92*

[By Nadeem Hussain]

[Text] Islamabad - The federal government is making hectic efforts to keep the inflation rate between 8 to 9 percent during the coming fiscal year of 1992-93. According to well informed sources, inflation rate at present is 13 percent. Keeping in view the present economic constraints and the trend of Consumers Index Price (CPI) it could go beyond this point.

The recent increase in wheat prices has affected the open market prices of wheat. If the subsidies on this particular crop go in the next budget, this could further escalate the prices. The final decision over the increase in the railway fares, PIA [Pakistan International Airlines] fares, electricity tariff, telephone calls and its installation fee, as prices, petroleum prices and heavy taxation on cigarettes particularly the foreign cigarettes and luxury goods and decentralization of cement prices awaits approval from the cabinet.

The cabinet meeting which was scheduled to be held this week have been postponed for the time being due to the Afghan crisis and Prime Minister Main Nawaz Sharif's trip abroad. This crucial meeting which would set the trend and format of the budget is expected to be held next week. Sources said that recommendations have been made to continue with the economic policies. Credit will be provided in such a way that all the genuine requirements of the growing economy are met adequately. It will be ensured that private sector should have an equal access to credit which will promote capital formation and investment.

Though share markets have shown the booming trend during the recent months but sources claimed that the common fear regarding their sudden collapse could not be ignored. The official figures portray that the general index share price have shown the increase of 73.4 percent. It also claims that all the major groups recorded growth ranging from the highest of 114.2 percent in case of transport and communication group to the lowest 28.8 percent in sugar and allied group.

The provisional data in respect of merchandise, according to the sources, have shown a deterioration of about 63 percent and the main reason for this was the higher trend in the import sector. The major imports which played the major role in this deterioration include palm oil 1.7 percent, wheat 2.3 percent, machinery and transport 13.7 percent and chemicals 2.6 percent. "This situation would continue to prevail during the coming budget also", added the sources.

The USAID [US Agency for International Development] is helping Pakistan in developing, designing and implementing designing and implementing development projects and programmes to promote economic stability and self sustaining growth with an aid package of \$ 33 million for which government has to provide the counter funding Rs[rupees]29.7 million. "The federal government has failed to provide the counter-funding according to schedule which has resulted in the delay of its completion date", the sources added.

The other major factor causing delay in its implementation is the Pressler Amendment, which has resulted in the further cut-in-aid. "Had this programme continued without any interval or delay it would have resulted in the completion of 52 major projects, helping not only the basis of Pakistan's economy but also strengthening the social sector", the sources added.

The federal government is also taking measures to reduce the balance of payments deficits. These included, trade policy reforms aimed at expanding exports and reducing nontariff barriers as well as the level and dispersion of import tariff. The adoption of flexible exchange rate management in support of trade liberalization and growth and diversification of exports [as published].

The government has also decided to introduce industrial reforms to promote manufactured exports and attract direct foreign investment. The government may phase out control on national external borrowing policies to harness the troubling economy. Though the annual plan 1991-92 envisaged a total fixed investment of Rs 199.6 billion, 16.9 percent higher than the previous year, with the expected growth of 19 percent and 14.7 percent in the private and public sector respectively but according to sources this target could not be achieved. The latest

figures available mark this growth to the level of 12.6 percent. The major reason deteriorating law and order situation.

But according to sources the result of government's policies regarding the investment in the country is expected to bear fruit this year and the target of fixed investment both in the private and public sector is being increased in the coming budget substantially. "The attraction for the investment would be provided with the further provision of lucrative concessions", the sources maintained.

As a major step towards this direction government may re-define the turnover tax system and new firm and tax holidays units be exempted from it. "The undue exemption may be reduced and tax rates might be lowered," the sources added.

Background on Intelligence Chief Given

BK0904113792 Lahore THE NATION in English
9 Apr 92

[Article by Brig. Gen. A.R. Siddiqi]

[Text] The day (March 2) Lieut. Gen. Javed Nasir's appointment as Director-General, Inter Services Intelligence Directorate (DGISI) was splashed across the front pages of a number of national dailies, I happened to be sitting with some of American friends in Islamabad. Their faces, eloquent with a mixed expression of surprise and sarcasm, they wondered what a bearded "fundamentalist" patriarch would be doing as DGISI—an appointment recognised for its maximum security grading, institutional authority and unexceptionable professionalism. Two factors worrying my American friends most pertained to a possible hardening of posture towards Afghanistan—closer to that of the mujahidin "fundamentalists" and an escalation of Indo-Pakistan tensions.

An active member of the Tableegh (proselytising) fraternity, the new DGISI, to their mind was more likely to behave as a "mujahid" and a missionary than a professional soldier.

Besides, what [would] a General officer of the Corps of Engineers have to do with military intelligence of the highest national level. They would not stop wondering why the Prime Minister (or was it the Chief of the Army Staff?) should have hand-picked Gen. Nasir to head ISI. After his transfer from GHQ [General Headquarters] (where he had served his normal tenure as the Engineer-in-Chief, E-in-C) Gen. Javed Nasir had been in his next appointment as Chairman POF [Pakistan Ordnance Factory], Wah, barely for three months, when he was assigned to the ISI. That would not be so normally. However, the exigencies of service would always take precedence over all other considerations, when necessary. Matters of posting and transfer, regardless of the rank and status of the concerned officer, are entirely at the discretion of the respective service headquarters with the formal approval of the Ministry of the Defence (President, Prime Minister, Defence Minister).

What struck and no less surprised me, was the number of speculative stories in the national press focussing on Javed Nasir's shavian beard and service background as an engineer officer. By a strange coincidence the present DGISPR (Director-General Inter-Service Public Relations) Maj. Gen. Jehangir Nasrullah also happens to be an officer of the Corps of Engineers. And if I am not mistaken, the incumbent DIG Chief, retired brigadier Imtiaz Ahmed and long before him, Gen. Agha Nek Mohammad (at present Quarter Master-General at GHQ) both hailed from the Corps of Engineers.

An enterprising and equally imaginative journalist in his column traced Javed Nasir's posting to "his origins" as a Kashmiri. thus wrote he: "Like the Prime Minister he is a Kashmiri, a Khawnin, to be precise, from Samanabad, Lahore. More importantly perhaps, he is a relation

through marriage of Brigadier Imtiaz Ahmed on whose political advice the Prime Minister seems to rely too much..."

If common geneology and matrimonial ties are to serve as the criterion for such high-level service postings, transfers and promotions, God help the army and the country!

The Prime Minister's choice of Gen. Nasir as DGISI is reported to have startled even the Army Chief himself. This is easily touching the outer fringe of speculative reporting. The story of the Army Chief, of all persons, being surprised by a prime ministerial coup de theatre in naming one of his senior-most general officers, is hard to imagine and even harder to believe.

Comparisons are said to be odious. They could be even ridiculous when carried too far. This could not be truer than in the context of a comparison between Gens. Javed Nasir and one of his predecessors, Hamid Gul, now retired. Retired Lieut-Gen Hamid Gul, easily the best-known DGISI, was admired for his impressive personality, fluent articulation and Afghan strategy. That strategy, however, sired a prolonged military statement yet to be broken.

Only the other day. I happened to come across an interview of retired Maj-Gen. Nasirullah Khan Baber, one of the former Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto's top military advisers. Gen. Baber holds Gen. Hamid Gill, then DGISI, largely responsible for advocating the military option to resolve the Afghanistan crisis after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from there in February 1989.

It is to be clearly understood that "strategic brilliance" is not the same thing as stylised la-di-da and articulation. Such brilliance may in fact stay under layers upon layers of a deceptively sombre and stolid exterior. Furthermore, "spymasters looking their part" are better suited for movies than the serious business military intelligence is at the highest national level. Verbosity and flamboyance are the stuff Sean Connery, Michael Caine (et al) are made of rather than real life intelligence chiefs like William Webster, Robert Gates of the CIA and our own (the late) Gens. Nawazish Ali and Mohammad Akbar Khan respectively of the military (Army) and Inter Service Intelligence. Javed Nasir was little heard of before this elevation to his present status. In April 1988, he was mentioned in news despatches as the incharge of the giant operation mounted to clear the Ojhri Camp of deadly ordnance—spent and active—after the earth-shaking explosion in the camp. Having done his job he returned to his parent job as DG Frontier Works Organisation (FWO).

He was appointed Engineer-in-Chief (E-in-C) at GHQ in 1991, promoted Lieut.-Gen. later that year and stayed in the blissful state of relative obscurity until his appointment as Chairman POFs Board in January and DGISI three months later in March this year.

But for the notoriety, ISI won through the fourth Afghan war (1979-1988) and the persisting post-war Afghanistan crisis, the organisation served (as indeed it was meant to have) behind a thick veil of secrecy. The names of its heads were hardly ever bandied about in peacetime, and only occasionally mentioned through a crisis or war in connection with periodic Press briefings, etc.

The creation of the Afghan cell for the conduct of the Afghan Jihad, at the highest level, under the direct supervision of President Gen. Ziaul Haq and his surrogate Gen. Akhtar Abdul Rahman, pitchforked ISI in the limelight of national and international media.

The "silent soldier" Gen. Rahman, as DGISI, was recognised worldwide as the man who set the course of the Afghan Jihad at the level of higher strategy. His tragic death together with his Chief, Gen Zin, in an air crash in August 1988, brought the "flamboyant" Let.-Gen. Hamid Gul to the job.

What for his overt mannerism and covert role in cobbling together such disparate and mutually hostile parties as the Jamaat-i-Islami and the MQM [Muhajir Qaumi Movement] (together with seven others under the overall umbrella of the Pakistan Muslim League before 1988 general elections), Gen. Gul emerged as the past master of his political game. His name became a byword in the political circles of the country. His abrupt dismissal by Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto and replacement by a retired General (Lieut.-Gen. Shamsur Rahman Kallu) was widely noted and debated as a major event.

Gul went to command an active army corp in Multan and dream of his triumphant return to Rawalpindi/Islamabad in a higher slot. The dream did not materialise. In the meantime, in the aftermath of the dismissal of Benazir's government in August 1990, the quiet self-effacing Gen. Muhammad Asad Durrani replaced Kallu to stay in the job for less than two years. He handed over charge to Javed Nasir forenoon (FN) March 14, 1992.

An officer of the Corps of Engineers Javed Nasir has been through the command and staff streams to qualify him for such diverse jobs as the command of an infantry brigade, D.G. Frontier Works Organisation, E-in-C, Pak Army, Chairman POFs Board and DGISI. The real feather in his cap had been his long association with National Defence College as an instructor and chief instructor (war wing) for six long years broken into two tenures of three years each.

As a soldier he had been actively engaged in all the (Triple X) joint services exercises as a syndicate leader or a member. In army level exercises he commanded either the Blue Land (home) or the Fox Land (enemy) forces with commendable success. He probably caught the Prime Minister's eye during the Study group map exercise around Gajranwain in January 1991. His job as ISI Chief, as indeed that of his predecessors, to gather and counter (enemy) intelligence, sift and diagnose it and, in

the light of the conclusions reached, advise the President, Prime Minister and three services Chiefs as to the aim and the orientation of enemy (enemies) build up.

As for his patriarch beard, it should serve as his personal mark of distinction much in the same manner as the late Akhtar Abdul Rahman's firm jaw line and Hamid Gul's Omar Sharif superstar profile.

Paper on Apparent Reconciliation Between 2 Spy Agencies

*BK114102192 Islamabad THE NEWS in English
11 Apr 92 p 12*

[Text] Islamabad—After a fairly long time, guns have apparently been silenced between two spy agencies—the Inter Services Intelligence [ISI] and the Intelligence Bureau [IB]. Officials say there is now better coordination and existence of little or no professional rivalry or jealousy between them.

This has come about in the wake of appointment of Lt General Javed Nasir as Chief of the ISI. Both he and the Director of the IB, Brig [Retd] Imtiaz Ahmad are known as "committed rightists," apart from having some other striking similarities. But this may only be a coincidence. Both are also Kashmiris.

"There is no conflict of direction and motivation between them. They will not be engaged in pulling each other's leg as has been the practice earlier," and informed official told THE NEWS.

"Importantly, both are the Prime Minister's nominees, who has the exclusive authority to make these appointments."

Like previous governments, the present one also seems reassured by just bringing in "its own man" to head the most powerful, and well-knit but perhaps not-so-secret agency.

Not only the Prime Minister but most of his confidantes viewed General Nasir's predecessor who was removed from ISI after seventeen months with suspicion. They had long urged the PM [prime minister] to "get rid of" him.

Brig Imtiaz was said to be the most vocal among such critics of General Asad Durrani. The former ISI chief was suspected to be behind most "political moves" of Nawaz opponents before Beg retired.

There is no gainsaying that the ISI and IB have been playing a significant role in "creating and solving" problems for the government. But they are not the only prop that can prolong any civilian's stay in the saddle. Actual governance will matter.

General Nasir's appointment has raised a question mark about the future "political role" of the agency. Since he is said to be apolitical because of his active association

with the Tableeghi (proselytising) fraternity, how will he serve the government in that sphere?

If one looks back, the ISI and IB have been running in opposite directions in the context of loyalties. However, whenever the ISI was "taken away by a civilian choice," the military intelligence became active. One can vividly recall an off-the-record "political" briefing given to a group of journalists by the then head of MI [Military Intelligence] during Benazir Bhutto's time. He had taken pains to explain that the Army had nothing to do with what was going on against her.

Just three months before quasi democracy was restored in 1985 after a long gap, General Ziaul Haq appointed Major General Agha Nek Mohammad as DIB [Director of Intelligence Bureau] that had been in slumber during the martial law. During that period, the military ruler did not need information from it and the ISI was his main "ears and eyes."

Mohammad Khan Junejo knew what the motive was behind Nek's nomination and he resented it from the

word go. He removed him as he found his replacement in the shape of Aslam Hayat Wattoo. General Zia was extremely annoyed over this action. The Prime Minister personally knew Wattoo well before. However, Junejo turned out to be too weak to induct his "own man" at the ISI.

As Ms Bhutto settled down a bit, she replaced the chiefs of the ISI and IB. She picked a retired lieutenant general, Shamsur Rehman Kallue for the former and Noor Leghari for the latter.

Mr Bhutto brought about this change at the ISI after about five months. Nawaz Sharif has done it after fifteen months. But from day one, he inducted his trusted man, Brig Imtiaz at the IB. It is well known that Imtiaz accompanied Nawaz throughout his election campaign for the 1990 general polls.

The fact that General Nasir and Brig Imtiaz knew each other for years, are believed to like each other, and have a distant relationship are factors responsible for the smooth relations between the two agencies.

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